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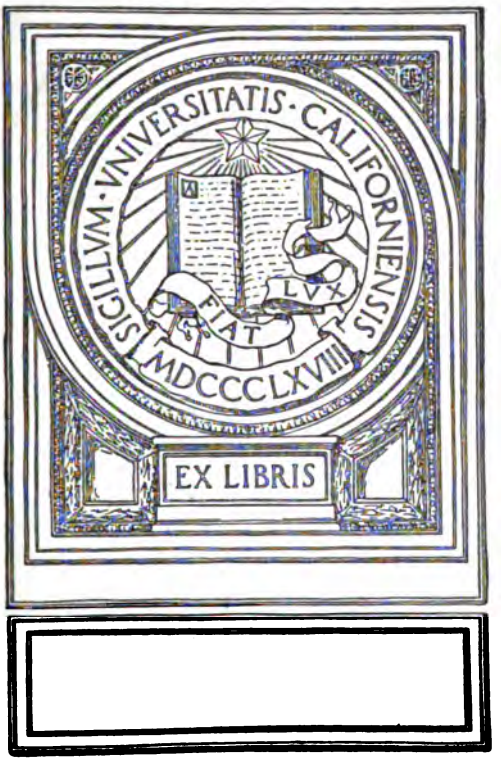
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Memoirs of Dr Chalmers

MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. LL.D.

BY HIS SON-IN-LAW,

THE REV. WILLIAM HANNA, LL.D.

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PREFACE.

THE Editor has to apologize for a delay in the publication of this volume, occasioned by a severe illness. He has also to express his great regret that the present is not the last volume of these Memoirs. When he first undertook his task, he divided the life of Dr. Chalmers into three periods: the first, from his birth in 1780 to the close of his ministry at Kilmany in 1815; the second, from the commencement of his ministry at Glasgow to the termination of his professorship at St. Andrews in 1828; the third, from the time of his appointment to the Chair of Theology at Edinburgh till his death in 1847. Each of these periods he intended to embrace within a single volume; and it was not till more than half of the second volume was in a form which prevented alteration, that he perceived that he must either suddenly and very considerably contract the scale of narrative, and so throw aside much of what he thought should once at least be presented to the public, or venture upon a fourth volume. In these circumstances, presuming on the indulgence of the reader, he has chosen the latter alternative.

EDINBURGH, *August* 1851.

MEMOIRS

OF

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. LL.D.

MEMOIRS

OF

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. LL.D.

CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE FROM GLASGOW—DEVELOPMENT OF HIS REGRETS AND REMEMBRANCES—RESIDENCE WITH MR. DUNCAN—THE SLOOP AND THE FURNITURE—HIS COURSE OF LECTURES ON MORAL PHILOSOPHY—FIRST SESSIONS OF DR. CHALMERS AND OF DR. THOMAS BROWN COMPARED AND CONTRASTED—MORAL PHILOSOPHY AND MUSIC—THE DOG IN THE CLASS-ROOM—VALEDICTORY ADDRESS TO THE STUDENTS—BENEFITS OF SUSTAINED AND REGULATED INDUSTRY—DEMOSTHENES AND NEWTON—THE PRINCIPIA AND THE PYRAMIDS.

It was a rapid movement from Glasgow to St. Andrews, yet Dr. Chalmers found time during a single day of rest spent upon the road to write to Mrs. Chalmers, whom he had left behind:—"This is a quiet time with me, and my mind is silently developing its regrets and its remembrances. You are aware that however insignificant compliments are in the general, there is a substantial object gained by the faithful transmission of them in the present instance. I do not want you so to write as in any way to overbear you, but you may perhaps have easy opportunities of conveying the expression of my

kindest regards to * * *. Tell John* when you see him, that I have not forgotten him; I was really affected by his ardent grief for my departure. * * * I feel the blank and the sensibility of my departure from Glasgow more than I have ever yet done; and now that its bustle and its engrossments and its manifold urgency and fatigue are shifted away from me, I have time to think, and I trust that I do it with the gratitude for what is past and the grief for my present deprivation, which are so eminently due to my friends in that quarter." This letter, written at Kirkaldy, is dated the 13th November 1823. On Friday the 14th Dr. Chalmers delivered his Introductory Lecture at St. Andrews, and on the evening of Saturday he writes again to Mrs. Chalmers,—"I am now with Mr. Duncan in perfect ease and very comfortable; but I shall not be at rest till I am fairly in the midst of my dear family. The four Glasgow gentlemen left me this evening. I venerate Mr. Dennistoun, and they have all acted nobly. Poor Mr. Parker and myself were most completely unmanned by our private separation."

His old college friend, Mr. Duncan, now Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrews, had invited Dr. Chalmers to live with him till his own house should be ready for his reception, and out of his own family he could scarcely have found a quieter or more congenial home. "I do famously here with Mr. Duncan," he says to Mrs. Chalmers after about a week's experience of St. Andrews, "but long, notwithstanding, for your safe and comfortable settlement in St. Andrews. * * * I am quite overcrowded, and they seem to think that another and larger room will be indispensable. I get up at six o'clock—have a morning diet of study before breakfast, then a forenoon diet be-

* John Graham, the beadle of St. John's. Time, distance, and the Disruption, disjoined him afterwards from his old master, yet he walked from Glasgow to Edinburgh to be present at Dr. Chalmers's funeral.

tween one and three, and my last is between tea and supper. With this amount of study I think that I shall get tolerably on, and be able to converse with my dear family between dinner and tea. I walk before dinner. This day I made my students laugh at my expense by calling them 'my brethren' instead of 'Gentlemen;' Mr. Duncan has the advantage of me to-day by laughing at it too, though I think that in this sort of rivalship I have generally the advantage of him." The excitements of the opening of his first College Session were now shared with his anxieties about the safe transfer of his family and furniture from Glasgow. Instead of exposing the latter to a tedious land carriage, it was thought better to freight a sloop, and to send it through the canal, and round the coast of Fife to St. Andrews. Influenced partly by a desire for its protection, and partly by a desire to see his old master in his new abode, John Graham volunteered to accompany it. "I am much interested," writes Dr. Chalmers on hearing of this, "by John's proposal to come in the sloop, and if he be really keen for it, I would rather ask him than otherwise. It, for one thing, will be a great security that the furniture goes safely, and for myself I should like exceedingly to see him and be kind to him. If he do come, tell him to bring a whole packet of letters from the agency. We have had most brilliant and delightful weather ever since I came to St. Andrews—not a drop of rain."*

About the end of November, the brilliant weather giving promise of a prosperous issue, John and the sloop embarked upon their voyage. The fair promise, however, was broken. A storm overtook the ill-fated vessel as she entered the Frith of Forth, and for some days, during which he sent off the following despatches, Dr. Chalmers was kept in a state of harassing suspense as to her fate:—

* Letter dated November 28, 1823.

"*St. Andrews, December 4th.*—No appearance of the sloop, and it is not thought that it will venture round Fifeness till the weather becomes more moderate. The wind has fallen, but the suspense is disagreeable in the meantime. If the vessel has put into any harbour on the coast, John should come from it overland to St. Andrews. I dislike the idea of him getting such a rock upon the occasion. This morning I was put into a sad alarm before breakfast by the information that a sloop had been stranded overnight, and was now among the rocks.

"*December 5th.*—I have been tantalized with two appearances to-day in the offing, neither of which turned out as I had hoped for; and as yet there is nothing within verge of the horizon that can be interpreted into our vessel. The weather, however, has become moderate, and the surf on the beach has abated greatly. The water looks quite calm in the Bay, and should this fair and yet gentle breeze continue it may cast up in the course of to-morrow. * * * I am in great peace and comfort. I am floundering on through my course of moral philosophy, and I think that I can see how, helter-skelter, I shall arrive at the termination of it.

"*December 8th.*—There was a vessel this day reported to have turned Fifeness, and which beat against the wind, as we all thought for St. Andrews. It went by the name of Dr. Chalmers's sloop, and when on its last tack, as we thought, to the pier, a pilot-boat went out, on which she turned immediately for the West Sands, where she lies at anchor. The inference is, that she is a vessel which has just come in for shelter. The weather is more moderate to-night, and we shall be looking out to-morrow.

"*December 9th, Tuesday.—Five o'clock.*—No appearance yet of our vessel. I came up from the shore before dinner with the impression that it was really unaccountable now; but Mr. Duncan tells me that he held conversation with a fisherman about it,

who said that, from the direction of the wind, there was still a difficulty in turning the point.

"*December* 10*th*.—I make no delay in informing you that the sloop arrived this morning, and is lying aground off the harbour. There will be no unpacking till to-morrow."

Dr. Chalmers was joined by his family in the beginning of January 1824. The four months which followed were months of unbroken but most pleasurable literary labour. As he started at November with lectures sufficient only for a week or two, it became an arduous task for him to keep, as he desired to do, his written compositions a day or two in advance of their delivery. The distance between the two was lessening continually as the session proceeded, but the struggle to keep it up, and the watching how it narrowed, had for him all the zest of the race-course. "I shall be lecturing," he writes in March, "for six weeks yet, and am very nearly from hand to mouth with my preparations. I have the prospect of winning the course, though it will be by no more than the length of half a neck: but I like the employment vastly." Of the lectures thus hastily prepared a large portion have been given to the public—almost without correction—just as they flowed from his quickly running pen. How like and yet how different this first session of Dr. Chalmers in the moral philosophy chair at St. Andrews, and the first session of Dr. Thomas Brown in the same chair at Edinburgh. Both began their winter labours almost wholly unfurnished with written preparations; but the one came to them from the retirement of the country, and after a summer of quiet reading and reflection; the other from the whirl of city life, and from the tumultuous occupations of a different and most engrossing profession. Both under the excitement of the occasion, and with the same rare facility of rapid composition, threw off writings which scarcely required or admitted of emendation, in which speculations

the most original and profound were invested with all the charms of a fascinating eloquence. But Dr. Brown trusted much more than Dr. Chalmers to the spur of the moment. He seldom began to write his lectures till late in the evening of the day which preceded their delivery. Upon the subjects of many of them he had not reflected till he sat down, and many of his most ingenious theories occurred to him in the course of composition. Dr. Chalmers seldom began to write without a distinct and matured conception of the topics which he intended to discuss, and with certain broad outlines of thought laid down, which he seldom if ever traversed. From an early period in the morning he studied at regular intervals throughout the day, and the hour which saw Dr. Brown fastened to his midnight task found Dr. Chalmers relieved and at leisure to enjoy, with all the freedom and freshness of an unburdened mind, the society of his family and friends. One cannot follow the progress of either throughout their first season of professorial toil without the feeling that we are contemplating a singular intellectual feat, performed by a marvellously gifted operator. Yet to the mode of operation there attaches in the one instance a natural healthiness of tone and manner which belongs not to the other; and if to the *opus operatum* in the latter case there belongs a scientific completeness and finish which the other cannot claim, this may be attributed to Dr. Brown's greater antecedent familiarity with his subject, and to the well digested plan upon which his labours were commenced and carried through. His own state of unpreparedness was so great as to make Dr. Chalmers at the opening of the session not a little sensitive as to the result. He could not but be aware that his reputation for eloquence would attract many auditors to his class-room. Desirous, however, to deliver a strictly scientific course, and prepared to sacrifice everything to promote the intellectual training of his students, he could not help

at the close of his Introductory Lecture lifting up for behoof of stray visiters, this salutary note of warning. After adverting to the favourable influence which his want of preparation might exert in giving zest and animation to the labours of the class-room—"But however favourably," he added, "I may be inclined to think of our present condition, as perhaps the very best for scholarship, I at the same time have no hesitation in saying, that it is the very worst for spectatorship. In this respect I can see no difference between the teaching of moral philosophy and the teaching of music. The lovers or the proficients of this noble art resort for their kindred gratification to the performances of a concert-room, but none, so far as I can understand, to the performances of a school. The ear that would be delighted with the flowing succession, with the lofty and unimpeded flights, with the free and the full outgoings of melody in the one, would be annoyed, I should imagine, beyond all sufferance, by the stops, and the trials, and the tuning of instruments, and the whole tribe of hideous discordancies that go to make a very Babel of the other. Yet meanwhile this is the way in which pupils are formed, though most assuredly not the way in which proficients can be at all fascinated. It is therefore but common honesty to give warning upon this subject. My business is not to serenade the connoisseurs, but to school and to practise the learners; and if after this any of the former description shall persist in honouring me with their attendance, I must only be upon my guard lest their presence should seduce me by a single hairbreadth into any deviation from the principle that I have now set forth to you. It is not an exhibitional course on which I now enter, but wholly an exegetical one. In the prosecution of it I have to deal with youthful understandings, with conceptions that are yet in embryo and are but struggling for development, with the trembling and unassured energies of those who need to be guided by short and numerous footsteps along the process of

an argument; and were I capable of such an elevation, yet did I quit this humble task for a lofty flight to charm the eye of idle beholders, then should I feel that I had made a derêliction from the work of a professor, and incurred the disgrace and the derision that are due to a mountebank."

The warning given was but little heeded; the crowded benches of the class-room exhibiting many an amateur spectator, amongst whom one or other of his brother professors might not unfrequently be seen. In that brilliant series of expositions, the listener familiar with the lessons of the science was often at a loss whether most to admire, the subtilty of the analysis or the splendour of the illustration. With his youthful auditors the impassioned fervour and high philosophic enthusiasm of their professor became contagious. The repose of the class-room was broken up. Quickened by new impulses, the juvenile spirit burst the bonds of collegiate decorum, greeting the eloquent passages of the lecturer by rounds of applause. As the season drew near its close, this spirit attempted another method of expression. It was proposed by his students that a piece of plate should be presented to Dr. Chalmers. This was an unseemly and unacademic step, and he hastened to check it. On the day when he heard of the intended presentation, the class-room had suffered a strange disturbance; and when the students assembled in it on the following day, it must have surprised them not a little to be thus addressed:—

"I have heard, gentlemen, only yesterday of your meditated kindness, and I can assure you that I speak on no light grounds when I say, that there are substantial reasons why it should not be persisted in. It is not that I undervalue your goodwill, or that I am capable of aught so harsh and so ungracious as to lay a forcible arrest on the outgoings of human cordiality; but you have already made full conveyance to my mind of the whole *morale* of this intended honour, and I entreat you to believe me when I say, that it does not lie within the power of

any *matériel* to enhance the impression of it. In this state, therefore, I beg that it may be left; and I have only to assure you, that so far from any indifference on my part to your manifested regard, I shall ever feel it to be a most precious and powerful affinity both to that place which is dear to me as the remembrances of early boyhood, and to that profession in the labours of which I should like to spend the remainder of my days.

"There is one topic more which I shall advert to, and that is, to certain liberties which some very few of my visiters have indulged in amid the general propriety that has characterized their attendance. I acquit my stated attendants indeed from the charge altogether; but there have been occasional hearers who, by coming in late, have inflicted a sore annoyance on the business of the class. It is too late now to set up any practical check against an inroad so unseemly, but I hold it of importance to the cause of academic discipline, that even now I should make averment of the principle, that not one freedom can be tolerated in a visiter which ought not also to be permitted to any of the regular students.

"And on the same ground, gentlemen, I must allude to the further indecorum of yesterday. It is not of a certain obstreperousness of yours that I now speak, against which I have already made my remonstrances during the progress of our course, and which perhaps, if permissible at all, might, by way of easing the restraint under which you have been laid, be humoured with one tremendous bellow at the termination of it. But what I speak of is the presence of a certain noisy admirer, who added his testimony to the general voice, and whose presence within these walls was so monstrously out of keeping with the character and business of a place of literature. The bringing in of that dog was a great breach of all academic propriety. I dared not trust myself at the time with the utterance of the indignation that I then actually felt, but it might be lowering your sense of those decencies that belong to

a university were I to pass it unnoticed now. A visit from the first nobleman of the land were disgraceful to us all, if it turned out to be a visit from the nobleman and his dog."

At length the labours of this busy and triumphant session closed; and as if gathering a lesson at once of encouragement and warning from his own well regulated and sustained habits of industry, he dismissed the students with these farewell words of advice:—

"It were a most grievous injustice to the noble subject of our course did I send you away with the delusion that in the course which has been actually described I have done anything like justice to it. You have received little more from me than a series of passing notices—the rough and unfinished sketches of one who had to travel with rapidity over the land, and who, as he hurried onwards from one topic to another, can truly say that in no instance has he left so much as one of them in the state in which he should desire to leave it conclusively. A meagre and unsatisfying outline is all that I have yet been able to render; and I feel that to make a full and deliberate survey of the whole territory would be to me at least the work of many years. You are not therefore to estimate the fulness or the glory of our theme by the yet partial and torn and broken reports of him who hath propounded it. And you would bear away a most inadequate sense of Moral Philosophy, both as to its worth and its magnitude, did you look only to the few superficial touches that we have yet been able to bestow, or listen only to our embryo speculations.

"I cannot pretend to summon, as if by the wand of a magician, a finished system of moral philosophy into being in one or even in two years. There is a certain showy and superficial something which can be done in a very short time. One may act the part of a harlequin with his mind as well as with his body; and there is a sort of mental agility which always gives me the impression of a harlequin. Anything which can be

spoken of as a feat is apt to suggest this association. That man, for example, was a thorough harlequin, in both senses of the word, who boasted that he could throw off a hundred verses of poetry while he stood upon one foot. There was something for wonder in this; but it is rarely by any such exploit that we obtain deep, and powerful, and enduring poetry. It is by dint of steady labour—it is by giving enough of application to the work, and having enough of time for the doing of it—it is by regular painstaking and the plying of constant assiduities—it is by these, and not by any process of legerdemain, that we secure the strength and the staple of real excellence. It was thus that Demosthenes, clause after clause, and sentence after sentence, elaborated, and that to the uttermost, his immortal orations;—it was thus that Newton pioneered his way, by the steps of an ascending geometry, to the mechanism of the heavens—after which, he left this testimony behind him, that he was conscious of nothing else but a habit of patient thinking, which could at all distinguish him from other men. He felt that it was no inaccessible superiority on which he stood, and it was thus that he generously proclaimed it. It is certainly another imagination that prevails in regard to those who have left the stupendous monuments of intellect behind them—not that they were differently exercised from the rest of the species, but that they must have been differently gifted. It is their talent, and almost never their industry, by which they have been thought to signalize themselves; and seldom is it adverted to, how much it is to the more strenuous application of those commonplace faculties which are diffused among all, that they are indebted for the glories which now encircle their remembrance and their name. It is felt to be a vulgarizing of genius that it should be lighted up in any other way than by a direct inspiration from heaven; and hence men have overlooked the steadfastness of purpose, the devotion to some single but great object, the unweariedness of labour that

is given not in convulsive and preternatural throes, but by little and little as the strength of the mind may bear it, the accumulation of many small efforts, instead of a few grand and gigantic but perhaps irregular movements on the part of energies that are marvellous. Men have overlooked these as being indeed the elements to which genius owes the best and the proudest of her achievements. They cannot think that aught so utterly prosaic as patience, and painstaking, and resolute industry, have any share in the upholding of a distinction so illustrious. These are held to be ignoble attributes never to be found among the demigods, but only among the drudges of literature; and it is certainly true, that in scholarship there are higher and lower walks. But still the very highest of all is a walk of labour. It is not by any fantastic jugglery, incomprehensible to ordinary minds, and beyond their reach—it is not by this that the heights of philosophy are scaled. So said he who towers so far above all his fellows; and whether viewed as an exhibition of his own modesty, or as an encouragement to others, this testimony of Sir Isaac may be regarded as one of the most precious legacies that he has bequeathed to the world.

"Before I recall myself from this digression, let me endeavour to guard you, gentlemen, against this most common error of the youthful imagination, and into which you are most naturally seduced by the very splendour and magnitude of the work that you contemplate. The 'Principia' of Newton and the 'Pyramids of Egypt' are both of them most sublime works, and looking to either as a magnificent whole, you have a like magnificent idea of the one noble conception or the one mighty power that originated each of them. You reflect not on the gradual and continuous, and I had almost said creeping way in which they at length emerged to their present greatness, so as now to stand forth, one the stateliest monument of intellectual and the other of physical strength which the world ever saw. You can see palpably enough how it was by repeated

strokes of the chisel, and by a series of muscular efforts, each of which exceeded not the force of a single arm, that the architecture was lifted to the state in which, after the lapse of forty centuries, it still remains one of the wonders of the world. But you see not the secret steps of that process by which the mind of our invincible philosopher was carried upward from one landing-place to another, till it reached the pinnacle of that still more wondrous fabric which he himself has consummated. You look to it as you would to a prodigy that had sprung forth at the bidding of a magician, or at least of one whose powers were as hopelessly above your own as if all the spells and mysteries of magic were familiar to him. And hence it is that nought could be more kind, and surely nought more emphatically instructive, than when he told his brethren of the species wherein it was that his great strength lay—that he differed not in power, but only differed in patience from themselves, and that he had won that eminence from which he looked down on the crowd beneath him, not by dint of a heaven-born inspiration that descended only on a few, but by dint of a home-bred virtue that was within reach of all.

"There is much of weighty and most applicable wisdom in the reply given by Dr. Johnson to a question put to him by his biographer, relative to the business of composition. He asked whether, ere one begin, he should wait for the favourable moment, for the afflatus which is deemed by many to constitute the whole peculiarity of genius. 'No, Sir, he should sit down doggedly,' was the deliverance of that great moralist. And be assured, gentlemen, that there is much of substantial and much of importantly practical truth in it. Whether it be composition or any other exercise of scholarship, I would have you all to sit down doggedly; for if you once bethink yourselves of waiting for the afflatus, the risk is that the afflatus never may come. Had your weekly or your monthly essay not been forthcoming, I should scarcely have deemed it a satisfac-

tory excuse that you were waiting for the afflatus. With this doctrine of an afflatus I can figure nothing more delightful than the life of a genius, spent as it would be between the dreams of self-complacency and those of downright indolence. For I presume, that during the intervals between one attack and another of this mysterious affection he may be very much at ease, living just as he lists, and for all his rambles and recreations abroad having this ready explanation to offer, that he had had no visit this day from his muse to detain him at home. Existence at this rate were one continued holiday; but be very sure, gentlemen, that it is not the existence by which you ever will be guided to ought that is substantial in the acquirements of philosophy. It would be a life of illusion —an airy and fantastic day that should terminate in nothing. And we again repeat, that if at all ambitious of a name in scholarship, or what is better far, if ambitious of that wisdom that can devise aright for the service of humanity, it is not by the wildly even though it should be the grandly irregular march of a wayward and meteoric spirit that you ever will arrive at it. It is by a slow but surer path—by a fixed devotedness of aim, and the steadfast prosecution of it—by breaking your day into its hours and its seasons, and then by a resolute adherence to them; it is not by the random sallies of him who lives without a purpose and without a plan—it is by the unwearied regularities of him who plies the exercises of a self-appointed round and most strenuously perseveres in them. It is by these that mental power, I will not say is created, but it is by these that mental power is both fostered into strength and made tenfold more effective than before; and precise and methodical and dull as these habits may be deemed, it is to them that the world is indebted for its best philosophy and its best poetry."*

* MS. Lectures.

CHAPTER II.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1824—ADMISSION OF PRINCIPAL MACFARLANE AS MINISTER OF THE HIGH CHURCH IN GLASGOW—BILL OF MR. KENNEDY FOR THE ABOLITION OF POOR-RATES—COURSE OF STUDY FOR STUDENTS OF DIVINITY—SKIRMISH WITH DR. INGLIS—GAELIC CHAPEL IN GLASGOW—MR. LEONARD HORNER AND THE SCHOOL OF ARTS—DR. CHALMERS AND SIR WALTER SCOTT.

THE fortnight which followed the breaking up of the classes at St. Andrews was devoted to preparation for the approaching General Assembly of the Church. On his arrival in Edinburgh Dr. Chalmers became so involved in the vortex that he was only able to transmit the following brief notices of passing events:—

"*Thursday, May 20th.*—I found four clergymen from Aberdeen in the steamboat. There had a whole cargo of them gone up on the Tuesday. One of the four fell foul of the Macfarlane cause, but checked himself in a few minutes, and we became very good friends. We arrived about six o'clock. I found a line from Mr. Oswald inviting me to dinner on the Friday and Saturday with Lord and Lady Elgin. I shall go to-day, but do not promise for to-morrow. After tea I sallied forth first to 17, Howe Street, where I found Mr. Robert Paul. I got him to take my commission* over to the Committee, and have since got a ticket as member of the General Assembly. The commission, however, may still be questioned; and I understand from Sir Harry and others that some of the more violent were dis-

* Dr. Chalmers had been elected as an elder by the borough of Anstruther to represent it in the Assembly, and his commission was the document which entitled him to take his seat.

posed to do so, and had been talking of it, though it is thought too glaring a thing to be ever attempted. I went to Sir Harry Moncreiff's, where I found Andrew Thomson and Dr. M'Gill. With the latter I went to Mr. Cockburn the advocate, where we had a long conversation about the order of our proceeding.

"*Friday.*—Started at eight. Preached:* an enormous crowd. Collection £143. Sadly annoyed after sermon by my acquaintances and others, male and female. The minister of D. insisted for a sermon for some schools there. He put his arm under mine, and meant to overbear all my negations. His last argument for a sermon was that I was *fat*, on which I wrenched my arm away from him, and came off. Had a call from my successor, Mr. Macfarlane of Polmont. A cordial talk with him. Hear that there is an overture about the Poor-laws before the General Assembly, so that the matter will come regularly before us.

"*Saturday.*—Started between seven and eight. After breakfast called upon by Mr. H. Paul and Dr. M'Gill. Had a long conversation with the latter; he tells me that Dr. George Cook will in all probability be for us in the Macfarlane cause. Do not mention this, however, *as yet* in St. Andrews. Things do look a little more hopefully, and Dr. M'Gill says that the computation now of the other side is that they will gain the cause by a majority of twenty. Dr. M'Gill however says that we shall certainly lose it. Attended the Assembly. Engaged in formal and preparatory work, and I was not called upon to make any appearance.

"*Sunday.*—Heard Mr. James of Birmingham preach in the forenoon: a superior cast of oratory and genius. Annoyed by the number of people who knew and buzzed about me on leaving the chapel, many of whom I did not know. Heard a most admirable and truly evangelic sermon from Dr. Gordon in his new chapel. Saw him afterwards. I verily believe that he is

* This sermon was preached in the West Church on behalf of the Scottish Missionary Society. The text was Acts xiii. 40, 41.

sinking under an excess of humility, and that he imagines himself quite tame and useless, when all are delighted and all are impressed by him."

"*Edinburgh, May 26th*, 1824.—Before I begin my journal, I think it right to give the information that we have lost the question by a majority of eighty-five against us. I spoke with great comfort to myself, and found all my apprehensions as unfounded as formerly. I am to speak to-day on Pauperism; and on the whole am so engrossed and jaded that I find I cannot write you so fully or frequently as I otherwise would.

"*Monday.*—Breakfasted with Sir Harry Moncreiff; saw there a M. Alexandre perform ventriloquism in a style the most marvellous; but I must reserve the description of it till we meet. Went over to the General Assembly, where I sat three hours. Returned to prepare for the morrow. Attended a meeting at Sir Harry's at six o'clock of the friends of the cause.

"*Tuesday.*—Had an early breakfast; had to attend a committee at nine. The business of it lasted till the time of the Assembly, which was eleven. A most tremendous crush; a number of the west country brethren; among others Mr. Smyth, who was most cordial. The police were called in to clear the galleries. All the gentlemen behoved to be turned out, and a number of them who had squatted down on the floor of the gallery on being raised to the view of the Assembly by the policemen, all dusted from head to foot, raised the most tremendous peals of laughter. Dr. Haldane was not one of the squatters, but somehow his dusty back got into the view of the audience, to their no small amusement. I was shockingly squeezed at the bar. The business did not begin till one o'clock. I went out to a coffee-room between three and four, and had to wait till after eight ere I spoke. The speakers were restricted to three on each side. Cockburn's speech on our side was one of the finest I ever heard. Dr. M'Gill spoke two hours. I came

off after speaking to prepare for the morrow on pauperism. I did not know that it was coming on so soon till this day. I learned afterwards that after the reply of the Counsel at the bar, there was just one speech on the side of our people, and a motion, after which a few words were spoken, and then a loud call for the vote. This total want of speaking argues that, while sure of the vote, they felt the weakness of their cause. The Assembly separated at twelve o'clock.

"*Wednesday.*—Got up at seven: prepared a little on pauperism. Called on Henry Paul to learn from him the news of yesternight. The galleries, it seems, had mistaken the side on which the majority lay, and ruffed most tremendously, to the great delight for the time being of the Moderates; but when the mistake was found out, there was an instant conversion of the testimony into a universal hiss. We had tough work at the Assembly, but on the whole we gained a very great deal. We set aside the motion of the opposite party, and made a very fair compromise between the one motion and the other. On the whole I am sure a great good has resulted to the cause; and Mr. Cockburn, with many others, are highly satisfied. Lord Elgin speaks most favourably of the impression that has been made; and altogether I am sure that we are on better ground than we should otherwise have been. Dr. Baird wants me to second a motion to-morrow anent his overture, to be made by the Solicitor-General, and he has made an arrangement for me to meet the Solicitor to-morrow in the Parliament House.

"*Thursday.*—Breakfasted with the Moderator, where Mr. Smyth was. Went over to the Parliament House, where I arranged the business with the Solicitor. Was astonished to find, on going to the Assembly, a most determined attack upon my overture of three years back, mixed up with most pointed allusion to myself and the speech that I delivered upon that occasion, all followed by a motion that the overture

should be instantly quashed. This of course brought me up in a state of total unpreparedness. A most vigorous skirmish ensued. Dr. Inglis was rude, Dr. Chalmers was indignant, Dr. Nicoll endeavoured to bring about a mutual explanation. The charge of overbearing was brought forward by me in a style that brought down a tremendous ruff from the galleries, and brought up a no less tremendous resentment from the body of the house. I kept my ground, and as my friends say without going too far, left on the head of the aggressor the full weight of the correction that was administered to him. But the most decisive and gratifying proof of the sense of the Assembly being with me is, that I persisted in my motion, notwithstanding the urgency of Dr. Nicoll and others that I should withdraw it, and carried it over Dr. Inglis by a majority of 117 to 74. This has revived our spirits somewhat; and what ought to gratify us still more, a most Christian discussion took place about missions afterwards. Supped in Sir Harry Moncreiff's, where Dr. Andrew Thomson was, quite delighted with this day's skirmish."

The great debate of this Assembly was that which took place on Tuesday the 25th respecting the admission of Principal Macfarlane as minister of the High Church in Glasgow. In opening this debate, the leading counsel for Dr. Macfarlane had quoted and laid much stress upon the Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1592, by which Presbyteries were "bound and astricted to receive and admit every qualified presentee." Among the leading ecclesiastical authorities it had not hitherto been doubted that, in the exercise of her own inherent authority, either by a general law or by specific enactment, the Church could prevent such union of offices as that now contemplated. High legal authorities, however, now began to hint it as their conviction that the Church could not do so without acting illegally, by violating the statute above alluded to. To the doctrine thus newly broached Dr. Chalmers alluded in the close

of his speech in words upon which after events impress a peculiar significance :—

"I do not at all enter into the question of your power to lay a veto on the presentation in this instance, for there can be no doubt of it: that presentation has had every justice done to it. The presbytery received it to their notice, and with all the forms of court; they admitted it to lie upon their table, and then gave their full and deliberate regards to the fitness of the presentee. On the question that is always put and always must be pronounced upon in one way or other, whether the presentation shall or shall not be sustained, they did, but not till time and argument, and a fair and free debate were allowed to the consideration of it, come to a negative. For reasons strictly ecclesiastical, and for which these ecclesiastical guides and guardians can hold up an unabashed face in society, they laid their arrest upon the presentation by refusing to sustain it. They were reasons that bore to be canvassed before one of our superior judicatories, and for which that judicatory confirmed our decision. We now wait the sentence of our ultimate Court; and we can never once dream that this final sentence, if given in our favour, is not to be effective. But if it could possibly be otherwise—if, on the plea that the Church hath overstepped her boundaries, it is found that there are a right and a force in the mere presentation which shall carry it over all your resistance, then I cannot imagine a feebler instrument, a more crippled and incompetent machinery, than our Church is for the professed object of its institution; nor do I see how, if struck with impotency like this, it can lift an arm of any efficacy to protect our Establishment from many great evils, or to stay the progress of a very sore corruption within our borders."

The reforming party in the Church were not discouraged by the largeness of the majority in favour of Dr. Macfarlane's settlement. Although the vote was against them, the general impres-

sion of the discussion in the House, which had been left very much in their own hands, was much in their favour; and when the question was relieved from the apparent invidiousness of resisting the claims of an individual, and put upon its broad and general grounds, they were more hopeful than ever of success.

The subject of pauperism came before the House upon a motion that the General Assembly should petition against a bill then in dependence before Parliament introduced by Mr. Kennedy of Dunure, the object of which was, by one summary act of abolition, to do away with all existing poor-rates. Whilst cherishing strongly the conviction that the Poor-laws had increased the evil they were meant to cure, Dr. Chalmers was not prepared for so hasty and so sweeping a piece of legislation, and willingly seconded the motion that the General Assembly should petition against the passing of such a bill. "I should have been happy," he said, in doing so, "to have observed a distinction in the bill between the *imperative* and the *permissive*. When a law is given with permission to adopt or reject its sentiments as the objects of its solicitude shall see meet, it is then that the mind receives a warm impression of the benevolent intentions of such a proposal, and though slowly, yet surely, becomes sensible of its worth, and gradually slides into its adoption. On the contrary, when a change of our system is proposed, and a compulsory enactment made that such a change *must* take place, it is then that the mind, little dreaming of such alteration, becomes startled and alarmed, and almost involuntarily rejects the innovation. Legislation should not obtrude herself, like an unwelcome guest, upon our ancient and almost idolized laws and usages. In doing so, she will be flouted like a testy foe, or shrunk from like a pestilential whirlwind. She should knock gently at the door, and wait till the inmates of the house sanction her admission, in which case she will find herself at all times a welcome and respected guest."

When the great opponent of Poor-laws objected thus to this bill of Mr. Kennedy, there was no difficulty in persuading the General Assembly unanimously to petition against it.

The Thursday's skirmish which Dr. Thomson had enjoyed so much arose upon the giving in of the report of the committee upon the course of study to be pursued by students of divinity. An overture which went only the moderate length of insisting upon *one* year's *regular* attendance at the Divinity Hall had been transmitted by the preceding Assembly to the different presbyteries of the Church. The convener of the committee in giving in his report stated that only six presbyteries had given in returns. This arose, it was alleged, from the slight interest taken in the matter by the Church at large. And as the proposed change appeared in itself undesirable, it was moved that the overture should not be retransmitted to presbyteries. Dr. Cook, Dr. Inglis, Dr. Nicoll, Dr. Mearns, were all in favour of this step. It came however by surprise upon Dr. Chalmers; he was not prepared for the question being thus finally set aside. The fewness of the returns, he was inclined to believe, arose from the overture having been sent down to presbyteries mixed up with the general Acts of the Assembly, and having escaped observation. He proposed, therefore, that it should be retransmitted, as was sometimes done, in a separate form. This was strongly resisted; and when in the keen discussion which ensued Dr. Chalmers had risen to answer an appeal made to him about the withdrawing of his motion, he was interrupted by Dr. Inglis, who rose to order. Dr. Chalmers, he said, had already spoken twice upon the subject, and should not be heard a third time. No indulgence could be awarded to him that was not allowed to every other member of the House. Dr. Chalmers upon this sat down. Being however again appealed to, he rose, he said, to give the very explanation he was about to give when he was *borne down* by the Rev. Doctor within the bar. Dr.

Inglis rose in great indignation. He had been charged with *bearing down* a member of that Court. This was language to which he was unaccustomed, and to which he would not submit. He had called Dr. Chalmers to order only because he was infringing the ordinary rules of debate. They were met there on the terms of Presbyterian parity, and it was the farthest thing from his wish to bear down any member so long as he did not transgress the bounds of their constitutional equality. He demanded an explanation. Dr. Chalmers assured him that he had no wish to monopolize the time or patience of the House, that he desired nothing more than Presbyterian parity, but that this parity was never in greater danger than when the orders of the House were prematurely and overbearingly enforced. At the expression of this sentiment a peal of applause burst from the students' gallery. The whole House was instantly in a whirlpool of confusion. Dr. Inglis, Dr. Nicoll, Dr. Brunton, started to their feet and attempted in vain to address the House. Loud cries of "Clear the gallery!" "Officer, officer, clear that gallery instantly!" prevented for a time all audience of any speaker, leaving those who could not be heard to express their indignation by vehement gesticulations. Silence was at last restored. The students took Dr. Brunton's advice to retire before the civil force had interposed, and the House was at leisure to return to the topic which had originated the disturbance. Dr. Mearns and Dr. Nicoll urged on Dr. Chalmers the necessity of explanation. Dr. Chalmers rose. "The terms," he said, "which he had employed might be interpreted either in a physical or moral sense. It was certainly in its physical sense that he had used it, for he had actually felt at the time as though he had been borne down by physical force. How far the term was applicable in its moral signification as implying a disposition to bear him down was a secret that might have remained in the breast of that Reverend Doctor, with whom he acknowledged that he was physically

unable to contend. But since he had told the House that he had no disposition to bear him down, he was sorry that he had used any expression which could prove offensive to him." Dr. Inglis shook his head—somewhat in doubt, as he well might be, about the character of the explanation. Murmurs that it was not satisfactory rose here and there throughout the Assembly. The ingenuity and the manifest good humour of Dr. Chalmers prevailed. The murmurs subsided, and the stream of the debate returned to its natural channel. At last the vote was taken, when, to the surprise and delight of Dr. Chalmers and his friends, it was resolved to retransmit the overture by a majority of 117 to 74.

There was still another triumph gained in this Assembly. A petition very numerously signed had been presented, praying for the erection of a new Gaelic chapel in Glasgow. It was opposed by the managers of the other Gaelic chapels in that city. In these chapels it was alleged there were many unlet sittings —upon some of them there were heavy debts. Until these sittings were occupied it could not be said that there existed any necessity, and while these debts existed it would be prejudicial to the interests of those who had incurred them, for the Assembly to allow the erection of an additional chapel. Such arguments found favour in the sight of the chief leaders of the ruling party in the Assembly, who were in fact rather fastidious about such erections. A chapel minister with an inferior salary and without any place or status in the Church Courts was an anomaly which they did not wish to see multiplied beyond what was absolutely necessary; and in this particular case they were somewhat difficult of persuasion that such necessity existed. In the present instance, Dr. Inglis, Dr. Mearns, Dr. Nicoll, Dr. Cook, all opposed the prayer of the Glasgow petitioners. It had not however been in vain that Dr. Chalmers in his eight years' labours had exposed the spiritual necessity of thousands of the population, and pleaded

for the multiplication of spiritual labourers among them. His words in the Assembly were few but weighty. The argument from unlet sittings he dealt with when urged by those within the Establishment in the very way in which he dealt with it afterwards when urged by those without. The broad outstanding fact—the true and firm basis of the petitioners' plea—was, that if they erected the new chapel, and filled it to overflow, there would be still a great overplus of Highland population in Glasgow unprovided for. There was no want of materials for crowding this and all the other chapels. To wait till all the existing chapels should be filled ere you raised another were to take the surest way to augment indefinitely the numbers of those who lived wholly neglectful of all ordinances. To send another zealous labourer among that neglected and neglectful population were to employ one of the most hopeful expedients for lessening the evil which of late years had been growing so rapidly.—The question, grant or refuse the petition, was at last put, when it carried—grant, by a majority of ninety-nine to seventy-one.

Soon after he arrived in Edinburgh Dr. Chalmers had been earnestly solicited by Mr. Leonard Horner to attend and take part in the annual meeting of a then infant institution, the first of the kind established in this country—the School of Arts, which was to take place on Tuesday, the 1st of June, the day after the close of the General Assembly. He yielded to the solicitation, and consented to move the approval of the Report which Mr. Horner was to read. "I cannot tell you how much I am obliged to you"—Mr. Horner writes to him on Saturday the 28th—"for your kindness in acceding to my wish. I speak with perfect sincerity when I state my belief that you will confer a most essential benefit not only upon our institution, but at this important period when so many new institutions of the sort are in agitation, do a great public service by expressing your sentiments upon these schools For obvious reasons I have not adverted in our Report

to that unhappy circumstance of the mechanics throwing off the assistance of the better educated classes, from a most mistaken idea of independence. It seems to me to be missing a great occasion of bringing the upper ranks in contact with the lower orders, which ought to be cultivated by every possible means. As I know you agree with me on this point I am very anxious that you should advert to it on Tuesday." On Monday evening Dr. Chalmers supped with Mr. Horner, when all was arranged between them for the meeting of the following day. At that meeting, after adverting to the general character and drift of the Report, Dr. Chalmers took occasion to remark that "it was not wise to disturb the platform of society, and to bestow upon those who formed the basis of the pyramid, qualifications costly or difficult in the acquisition and unprofitable in the use. The Directors had shewn their prudence in giving the artisans what was really useful, and in not attempting more. He rejoiced when he saw a Watt or a Rennie surmounting the difficulties of humble birth, and raising himself by his talents or industry to a level with the most learned and noble in the land. But he did not admire this Institution because it put such distinction within the reach of some individuals, whose number must always be small, but because it brought down the torch of science to guide the hand of the artisan—because it raised the status and character of this class of persons generally, made them more intelligent and moral, more rational and orderly, better satisfied with themselves, and better members of society. To do this was to raise the platform of the social edifice, and to knit its parts more firmly together, not to disturb its order or lessen its strength."

The motion made by Dr. Chalmers was seconded by Sir Walter Scott, who expressed his high approbation of the principles which had been so eloquently explained. This was the only occasion on which Dr. Chalmers and Sir Walter met on the same platform and were associated in the same work.

CHAPTER III.

SIX WEEKS IN GLASGOW—VISITS TO PERTH—GASK AND FREELAND—TO MOUNTGREENAN—NEW LANARK AND COSTERTON—PREACHING AT STOCKPORT.

A FORTNIGHT'S leisure at St. Andrews was all that Dr. Chalmers allowed himself to recruit after the fatigues of the General Assembly. In leaving Glasgow, the interest which lay nearest to his heart, and which excited his chief solicitude, was that of the new chapel he had erected in the parish of St. John's. His feeling towards that chapel was very much that of a parent torn away from his first-born amid all the exposure and weakness of its infancy. So soon as his college session closed, and his other public engagements permitted, he hastened back to watch over its progress and to promote its growth. The General Assembly had scarcely risen when he announced his intention to visit Glasgow immediately—to preach for six successive Sabbaths in the chapel, and to hold meetings during the intervening weeks with all the different branches of the parochial agency. Twelve large folio journal-letters, addressed to Mrs. Chalmers, each page densely covered in small characters, detail the extraordinary achievements of these six weeks in the West. "I think," he says himself, in reviewing it at its close, "that I never spent a season of more crowded occupancy." Visitations and compositions and preachings so accumulate in the narrative, that the bare reading of them—making us feel as if we were sharing in all the labour—

excites a sense of fatigue. What in physical strength and in capacity for sustained and excited mental activity must he have been who accomplished the whole, and at the close was as vigorous as at the beginning. The following extracts will enable the reader to follow him pretty closely in his career. It is only of a single day or two that the entire proceedings are given, but it will be understood that the days which appear the blankest in these pages were in reality as well filled up as those of which the entire details are given. Having promised to preach a missionary sermon in Perth, Dr. Chalmers went to Glasgow by that route, and it is in Perth that we now join him :—

"*Tuesday, June* 22*d.*—Arrived before eleven. Mrs. B.'s oldest son is on a sick-bed, and very unwell, but nothing would prevail upon her to let me go to some other place, and she behoved, in the face of its obvious impropriety, to have a dinner and a party for me. This is Scottish kindness carried to such an aggravated degree that I have not been angry at it all along, but have been solemnized into a sort of wonder. I had three hours before me till sermon time, which I gave to composition. The church was full, but not overcrowded ; the collection, I hear, was the largest ever known in Perth, £81, 8s.

"*Wednesday.*—I had a walk up the river with Mrs. B. When I offered her my arm, she declined, saying that it would be 'o'er grand.' She has got a most magnificent conception of me, but carries her kindness to a degree that is truly laughable. I should however be grateful for it. The gig came to her door after one, and I was driven to Gask, where I got a warm reception from Mr. James Oliphant. It is a very splendid mansion, and is situated in a beautiful country. There are four young ladies, but only three of them I suppose to be his sisters ;—all of them cultivated in a very high degree, and their decided tendencies are towards serious conversation. Mrs. Oliphant appears a most admirable per-

son; I should imagine sixty, but still in full activity. The elder brother is confined to his room, but I have seen him, though only for a few minutes. He is evidently failing very fast; but his whole heart seems to be set on right subjects. I had not time to come far on with him, but perhaps will make progress. They dine early; and here I am after tea, having written all that is on this page down to the present time. Called to supper and family worship about nine, and retired between ten and eleven, delighted with the quiet regularities of a pleasant and cultivated family.

"*Thursday.*—Got up between eight and nine. Family worship and breakfast. Have rather fallen behind in my pulpit preparations, but I hope to do something to-day. After breakfast I wrote a little. The chaise came to the door, and took me and two of the Misses Oliphants to Freeland, where we called on Lady Ruthven. Lord R. was at Perth. Her Ladyship is remarkably clever, and was remarkably kind. She has been much in Greece, and showed me many admirable drawings. Her mother, Mrs. Campbell of Shawfield, was there, who appears a remarkably wholesome and well-disposed person; but the most interesting of the whole was Miss Ruthven, a sister of his Lordship, and a most saintly and admirable person. She lives in Perth, but was at Freeland for a day or two. Freeland is quite a paradise of beauty.

"*Friday.*—Got up at eight. Expounded at family worship for the first time. After breakfast two horses arrived at the door for an equestrian excursion between me and Mr. James. Previous to that, however, I composed somewhat, and had an interesting conversation with Mr. Oliphant, the invalid, more satisfactory than before. Were soon overtaken with rain, and so stopped in our excursion, but had a very good refuge in the manse of Mr. Young the clergyman, with whom we sat an hour. As the rain continued, we walked home with umbrellas, and

sent a servant from the house for the horses. On our arrival found Mr. and Mrs. Willison of Forgandenny, who had come to dine, and Mr. Robertson, minister of Forteviot, soon joined us. The latter very interesting, though hitherto of the Moderate party; but I do think that a vast deal is to be made of such, and we should rather court the opportunities of intercourse with them. Willison is an exceedingly good and holy man, and has a most suitable helpmeet in his wife. Spent the afternoon and evening very much in society, and got to bed about twelve.

"*Saturday.*—Started at seven; breakfasted at eight. The main duties of the family worship are all laid upon me, even in the presence of clergymen, and this is somewhat delicate and disagreeable. Walked about a mile from Gask to the place where the coach took me up, and entered it between ten and eleven. I took an affectionate farewell of the family, and I am commissioned to inquire about Dr. Stewart of Erskine in behalf of their poor invalid. They, one and all of them, have a consumptive hue, and I felt quite softened by such an exhibition of the fragility of our mortal nature. We averaged about three passengers inside all the way to Glasgow. I dined at Stirling, and reached Glasgow between six and seven.

"*Sunday, June 27th.*—Catherine* came in after breakfast. I delivered to her the parcel, the letter that came to her by post, and Anne's letter. This last she did not read in my presence, for it would have completely overset her, it being just touch and go with her. She did ask for Grace, and would have burst forth into a paroxysm had she not been restrained by a certain awe and awkwardness from my presence. This ought not to be encouraged. The greetings in St. Andrews on the one hand, and the greetings in Glasgow on the other, may certainly be carried too far; and you may tell Anne that though George Rex, when he addresses his loving subjects, sends

* A faithful nurse, who joined the family afterwards at St. Andrews.

to them a greeting, she is not to send any more greetings, or any more accounts of greetings, to this quarter of her correspondence. Our noddy came up for us twenty minutes before eleven. When we got to the chapel I found policemen, with the captain at their head, very busy at the gate, which is now completely inclosed and railed in. None were admitted but with tickets. Mr. Paul was peculiarly active. Some of the crowd got over the wall, but were stopped at the church-door, where the tickets were shewn a second time. Mr. Paul incurred great obloquy and displeasure. He told me in a very amusing way the dialogue that took place between him and the folk. There was a very loud altercation at the middle of the sermon. However, the business was most thoroughly done, not a creature, save perhaps one or two, being there who had not either a regular or a stranger's ticket. The consequence was that the chapel was not absolutely full, there being room in it for perhaps about two or three hundred; and these were suffered to remain empty, it having only the effect to encourage a crush in the future Sabbaths, and also to spoil the future seat-letting, to let any unticketed people in even after the prayer is over. The delightful thing is, that four hundred additional seats have been let in consequence, and Mr. Paul expects to let more. It is this which determines me to be strenuous in my exertions while here—that is to say, in my pulpit preparations, and therefore I began with my sermon instead of a lecture; and though the general expectation be that I am only to preach all the forenoons, I shall, if possible, and I further think that I may be able, by the help of God, to add the afternoons also. From the pulpit I saw many St. John's faces, some of them I thought a good deal affected; and I myself was nearly as much so as at leaving them."

"*Wednesday, June 30th.*—Got up at six. Charles staid all night. After my morning modicum of composition, sauntered in the garden with Charles and Mr. Paul. It is all in a glow

with white roses. They left us after breakfast, and I betook myself to composition again, and by one o'clock finished the sermon which I had begun on Monday. I am wanting to acquit myself in Glasgow of many of my friends on the strength of breakfasts, and have fixed already a good many for next week; but I find a strong preference for dinners, of which I have very few to afford, having fixed myself for two evening parties next week in Mrs. Charles's, and will have besides two evening meetings with my agency. Mr. Walkinshaw consents to give me a breakfast, but hopes for a dinner also; and my very dear and excellent friend, Mr. Montgomerie, will not let me off with anything short of a dinner, when I had offered him a breakfast; so that with him I even consented.

"*Friday.*—After breakfast I was very sorry to receive from Craig Park an intimation of the death of Miss M'Kenzie. I perceive, therefore, that it is the eldest daughter of the family, of whose health I had indeed heard very unfavourably before. This is a death that will interest Anne, who must both recollect her, and feel for the grief of her acquaintance Louisa on the death of her sister. I beg that Anne may think seriously of death, and of the need of preparation; and let her be well assured, that if she neglects the work now, she will ever find herself as she gets on in life more and more averse to it. Do have an earnest and right conversation with her and Eliza and Grace upon the subject. I walked to Shieldhall, where I paid a very delightful short visit to that old and respectable lady, Mrs. Oswald. It has been the most delightful thing in the way of intercourse that I have met with since I came west; and one great charm of it is, the gratitude that was expressed for the *honour* of so small an attention, and at the same time the expression of a hope, but without the slightest urgency, that my multiplied avocations might permit of a longer visit before I leave the country. Mrs. D. took me to a beautiful emi-

nence adjoining the house, and whence I had a very open and extensive prospect. Her chief talk was of the Craig Park family. Young Miss M'Kenzie was in a very happy state of her mind ere she died, and expressed her whole dependence to be on the finished work of the Saviour. Tell Anne that Louisa has also had a scarlet fever, and though she is getting better, they are not free from all apprehension regarding her. Let us walk softly, and be humble and mindful of death. Anne ought to recollect that God's very purpose in these examples is to warn others, and to put seriousness into their hearts; and if they are not the better of such warnings, they will become worse.

"*Saturday.*—Started after eight: lost my modicum in the morning, but must try two during a long forenoon. Had to write a letter for the patrons who meet this day, and in which I express my satisfaction with the present method of admittance into the church, and my desire for its continuance. It has been much misconceived by the public, and has been quite the topic it would appear."

"*Sunday, July 4th.*—We were just late enough, but I found great order at the door of the chapel-court, where, though there was a crowd, yet none were admitted even to this outer-door but in virtue of tickets. I feel myself in great vigour, and am preaching with far greater comfort and clearness than I at first anticipated. After dinner at Mr. M'Vey's, Mr. Paul produced a note that had been put by some wag into the plate, along with his collection, which ran as follows—'Remember in prayer those who are with us in spirit, but have not money to purchase the privilege of being also with us in person, and who not only are not permitted standing room in the inner court, but are hindered from treading the outer courts of the sanctuary.'

"*Tuesday.*—Started between six and seven. Composed a modicum of my lecture. John came with letters and parcels, and among other things brought a very handsome note from

Professor Buckland, accompanying a small work of his. The others related to reports and invitations to preach. The noddy drew up at nine, and Charles and I went in it to breakfast with Mr. Roberton Smith, Wellington Place. Here, too, I have been furnished with a room, and I have just now finished a lecture and Professor Buckland's work, written him a note, and also thrown off a letter to Mr. Paul. In the Institution Rooms I saw a great number of reviews of my last volume of sermons, all highly favourable. They have been accumulating through the winter, and never reached me in St. Andrews. My habit this week is that of studying before breakfast in Charles's house, breakfasting out, and requesting a prophet's chamber afterwards for a spell in the forenoon.

"I beg that you will watch over the souls of our children: we are answerable for them. Do betake yourself to Christ, and take instant refuge in the blessed hopes and offers of His gospel, and do not linger at the threshold when such spiritual and encouraging invitations are given to you."

"*Wednesday, July 7th.*—The noddy drove up at three, and I performed a number of parochial calls, among others upon Thomas Lilly, who, after much resistance on my part, gave me six guineas for parochial objects. The money was rent which he had considered desperate, paid to him by a runaway husband, whom our agents had reclaimed, and he therefore considered it as ours, and as due to the support of our parochial system.

"*Thursday.*—Dressed for dinner. Have got a new method of folding up my coat, which I shall teach you when I get home, and is of great use to a traveller. I am about as fond of it as I was of the new method of washing my bands.

"*Saturday.*—This festivity is now beginning to tell. Spent a sick and sleepless night, and the suffering aggravated by the thought that after all I make no progress in satisfying my

friends. Those with whom I have not yet been insist upon their day, and those with whom I have been once insist upon a second visit.—'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.'

"I did not rise till between eight and nine, and was rather late for breakfast at Mr. Naismith's, where there was a great party. I ate very little, and am much the better of it. I believe that temperance greatly alleviates the fatigues of conviviality.

"It is now Sunday morning, and I do not mean to journalize, and it is likely that one letter may be the whole produce of next week. I am aware of the spiritual desolation that surrounds you. I am aware of the exceeding deceitfulness of our own hearts, and how readily they accord with an atmosphere of worldliness. Neither you nor myself do I hold to be so alive to sacred things as many of those who profess to be serious: we may have a name to live, but let us fear that we are dead. Think of the denunciations poured upon those who are neither cold nor hot, and let us at the same time think of our own lukewarmness. Oh! let us, under the weight of all these considerations, betake ourselves to Christ, to Him who counsels us, in Rev. iii. 18, 19,—and having first taken of the pure gold of His righteousness, and covered ourselves with the white raiment of His putting on, let us pray for light to know His will, and be zealous and repent. I am much more comfortable than I have been for some days, and I think that much is due to the temperance of yesterday. Nevertheless my tendencies are all homeward, and I am not displeased to think that on this day three weeks I shall, if God will, turn my face to the east."

"*Mosshouse, Tuesday, July 13th.*—It has just occurred to me as an admirable arrangement in all time coming, that the six weeks' vacation at St. Andrews should be my six weeks' visit to Glasgow, and that on that occasion you and the family should accompany me to furnished lodgings in the neighbourhood. I shall not ask your consent to this, but satisfy myself with enact-

ing that if you are in health so it shall be. It would save me the life of a wandering Jew whilst I am in this part of the country.

"*Wednesday.*—Embarked in the Largs steamboat between two and three. The boat carried us on to Fairlie at seven, where we landed in a little boat on the projecting wooden pier. We saw the efflux of Mr. Parker's whole family from the windows of the drawing-room. George came out for us in the little boat. Himself, James, and Pat met us on the further extremity of the wooden pier. The Misses Parker, Miss Babington, and Anne, received us upon the rocks, and so we proceeded with great joyousness and cordiality to the house. A most delightful family, where the kindnesses and the elegancies of hospitality are most perfectly blended. I had real pleasure in seeing them all.

"N.B.—I want each letter you receive from me to be signalized by a feast of strawberries to the children on the day of its arrival; therefore, I expect that on Saturday, which will be the day of your receiving this, these strawberries, with a competent quantity of cream and sugar, shall be given accordingly, and given from me the papa of these said children, each and all of them being told that he is the donor of the same."

"*Saturday, July 17th.*—Rose at seven. Revised my preparations for to-morrow. Breakfasted at half-past eight, and the carriage drove up after nine, when I bade a tender and most friendly adieu that was felt on both sides to the family. Mr. Parker's farewell was particularly affectionate. Mrs. Parker and Mr. Tennent, senior, were in the chaise along with me. Miss Hutcheson was in waiting to bid me farewell at her gate. At the Broomielaw found dear Mr. Falconer awaiting, who had a number of letters for me, none of them of much consequence, however. He conducted me by a short and recently opened way to his own house, where I met with a most bland reception from Mrs. Falconer."

"*Sunday, July 18th.*—Enjoyed the beauty of the morning in Mr. Falconer's grounds. Breakfasted, and had family worship at nine. On our arrival at the chapel gate was met by my old friend the daft woman who used to pursue and annoy me, and at one time presented me with a sheep's head and trotters. She got hold of my legs as I was stepping out of the noddy; she has been urging me in this way for several Sundays. A great press of people, but the ticket system operates admirably. We had a special collection this day for the chapel funds; it amounted to £58. I do not think it much; but altogether I hold it well that in increased collections on the ordinary Sundays, in seat-lettings, and the collection of this day, the whole parochial concern is already about £200 the better of me. Is not this of itself worth the coming for? Went to the noddy by aid of my daft friend, who ran after the noddy with all her might, but could not overtake it."

"*Saturday, July 24th.*—Started about seven. Had no modicum this day. Wrote a few lines or letters. The noddy came at half-past eight, and I got into it for Meadowside, about two miles down the river from Glasgow, where Mrs. Smith, formerly of Jordanhill, now resides. Mrs. Grant of Laggan is there.* Called at Blochairn. Had a walk round the garden with Mr Parker. Had much pleasure in recognising all the old objects

* "You ask me to tell you about Dr. Chalmers. I must tell you first, then, that of all men he is the most modest, and speaks with undissembled gentleness and liberality of those who differ from him in opinion. Every word he says has the stamp of genius; yet the calmness, ease, and simplicity of his conversation is such that to ordinary minds he might appear an ordinary man. I had a great intellectual feast about three weeks since—I breakfasted with him at a friend's house, and enjoyed his society for two hours with great delight. Conversation wandered into various channels, but he was always powerful, always gentle, and always seemed quite unconscious of his own superiority. I had not been an hour at home when a guest arrived, who had become a stranger to me for some time past. It was Walter Scott, who sat a long time with me, and was, as he always is, delightful; his good nature, good humour, and simplicity are truly charming: you never once think of his superiority, because it is evident he does not think of it himself. He, too, confirmed the maxim, that true genius is ever modest and careless; after

—as the hat-holder and umbrella-holder in the lower lobby, the clock in the upper, the bronze nymphs with candle-sockets in their hands on the mantelpiece of the drawing-room, the pictures of Mr. and Mrs. Parker and of Sir William Wallace in the dining-room, the fog-house in the garden, the rock-work there, and more especially for the information of Miss Grace Chalmers, the sheep's head still in its old place, but without the flowers that formerly occupied its eyes and nose.

"*Sunday.*—Started about eight. Threw off a last paragraph for the chapel people, this being my last day there. An immense number of carriages, and by far the fullest day that had yet been. The Lord Provost there among others, the Colquhouns of Killermont, &c., &c. A good many standers owing to a slight relaxation of our strictness, it being the last day. I lectured at great length. I have now finished the eighth chapter of the Romans.* Went with Mrs. Glasgow in her own carriage. I had the benefit of the daft wife's attention and

his greatest literary triumphs he is like Hardyknute's son after a victory, when we are told,—

'With careless gesture, mind unmoved,
On rode he o'wre the plain.'

Mary and I could not help observing certain similarities between these two extraordinary persons (Chalmers and Scott:) the same quiet unobtrusive humour, the same flow of rich original conversation, easy, careless, and visibly unpremeditated; the same indulgence for others, and readiness to give attention and interest to any subject started by others. There was a more chastened dignity and occasional elevation in the Divine than in the Poet; but many resembling features in their modes of thinking and manner of expression."—*Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan*, vol. ii. pp. 167-169.

* He had resumed his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans at the place where he had left off at the time of his removal to St. Andrews. As it may interest some readers to know which were the lectures and sermons that he composed during this round of convivialities, I give the following extract from the record of his preaching:—

St. John's Chapel, June 27, Romans xi. 22.
" " July 4, Romans viii. 31, 32, and Psalms xix. 11.
" " July 11, Romans viii. 32, 33, and Galatians ii. 19.
" " July 18, Romans viii. 33, 34, and Romans xiv. 17.
" " July 25, Romans viii. 34, 37, and Romans viii. 38, 39.
" " Aug. 1, Luke xxiv. 49

civilities as usual. She got hold of me by the hand, and I was with very great difficulty extricated. Instead of taking Paisley on my return, Mrs. Glasgow judged much better for me by offering to take it on our way; so, after a short dinner at the Black Bull with her, we set off for Paisley before six, and arrived there at seven. I was conducted to Mr. Barclay's, and found poor Mrs. Collins evidently dying; but I can assure you that I do not recollect having ever made a more pleasant visit. She is in a very happy spiritual state; took me by the hand, and kept hold of me for a quarter of an hour; talked a great deal, and all in a way that was most encouraging. Her whole dependence is on Christ's righteousness and blood, and I did feel gratified when she spoke of the remembrance that she had of my sermons in Glasgow. I prayed, and left her after having remained half an hour. She told me that she had made over her husband and children to God, and was free from all her anxieties. It was really a pleasant visit, and exceedingly well taken by her brother and sister. I left her with much emotion, and took coffee in the inn with Mrs. Glasgow. We set out before eight, and did not reach Mountgreenan till between ten and eleven. Found Mr. Glasgow there, and a General Wallace who had come from Galloway, upwards of sixty miles, for the purpose of seeing me.

"Might have mentioned that I was somewhat annoyed with Miss —— saying that when you come back next year we take you engaged to spend a great deal more time with us than you have done this year. I hate all distant engagements, and shall never take on any more. I will do anything, however, for the public and parochial interest of St. John's.

"*Wednesday.*—This turmoil must enfeeble my writing.

"*Thursday.*—Started after seven. Neither this day have I had any modicum, there being a vile speech to make and to remember for this day's public dinner. It kept me anxious all day, and the discomfort was aggravated by the heat and thun-

dery feeling. I drove to Barrack Street, where I alighted, and found my way to St. John's vestry, where the Presbytery were assembled. Then to the church, where Mr. —— presided over the admission of the two Macfarlans.* Mr. —— was not half so extravagant or hostile as I feared. His chief philippic was against dissenters; and he has given satisfaction by the recommendations that he bestowed upon the order of deacons. It was on the whole, however, a very *outré* rigmarole and feeble piece of senility. On being ushered to the dining-hall, the names of the grandees were called out who should go first. I had the honour of being about the fourth or fifth. Things went on very well. A short speech from Dr. Macfarlan, a longer one from Mr. Macfarlan, and a very Christian and good one. He went further than I would have counted safe in his approbation of my parochial system, and spoke of the assistance that he had derived upon the subject from my last pamphlet. Some of the old stagers looked very blue upon the occasion. He was very complimentary to me, as was the Lord Provost, who shortly after proposed my health, which called me up, and delivered me of my speech. I abstained from all public and general toasts, and gave my main argument to an eulogy on Dr. Burns, the venerable father of the Presbytery of Glasgow. It was very well taken.

"*Friday.*—The carriage drove up at four, and took me to Rosebank, the summer residence of Mr. and Mrs. Middleton. Here we dined. I feasted upon its beauties. It is upon the Clyde, and is of great loveliness. Walked in great delight through scenes of fair enchantment. Came off about nine. I must preach at Lanark; and while I am on this side of the Forth, it is of great importance that I should make out Costerton. It may save more movements south. It is most desir-

* The Rev. Dr. Macfarlan as minister of the High Church, and the Rev. Mr. P. Macfarlan (afterwards of Greenock) as minister of St. John's.

able to cultivate and be well with Dr. Nicoll; and indeed there is a business necessity for meeting him on account of the projected dinner to Dr. Hunter."

"*Saturday, July* 31*st.*—After supper I sat up till between one and two in the morning working at a special reference to the settlement of Mr. Macfarlan, wherewith I should conclude to-morrow's sermon.

"*Sunday.*—Descended from the pulpit after one. Went through the church in the afternoon to the vestry. Found Mr. Macfarlan, and got from him in the afternoon a very good sermon, full of soundness and good sense and the best spirit. The congregation was very numerous, and the impression, I understood afterwards, favourable. I sat at the bottom of my own seat, and had very many handshakings from the people as they went out, and also in the vestry. Mr. and Mrs. Thomson of Camphill came round to the vestry door, and expressed their affectionate regrets because of missing me yesterday. Mr. James Menteith, at present with them, also came; so did Mr. and Mrs. Walter Wood, to the latter of whom I expressed the very great regard that I bore. Mr. Dennistoun, her father, that friendliest and finest of men, came also to bid his adieu. A deputation from the Renfrew Bible Society were also in waiting to wile me into the promise of a sermon, and my prompt and summary negative brought out a loud bass laugh from Mr. Paul, who was looking on. Mr. Bain's carriage came at eight, and took me and him to his house at Morriston, about four or five miles up the Clyde from Glasgow. Walked about Morriston, in a cool and beautiful evening. Mr. Bain raised the tune at family worship; and I felt exceedingly delighted by the termination of my fatigue at Glasgow.

"*Monday.*—Left my kind friends at eleven, and took in the coach with me about two miles up a young Englishman, cousin to the Urquharts, and of their name, who is going to study for

the English Church. It was merely to have a little talk with me that this arrangement was made. I let him down at the gate of Professor Jardine of Hallside, on whom I called. The Duke of Hamilton wanted to see me on the subject of pauperism, and wanted me to dine with him. This I would not do; but told the Professor that I would call upon him, and have an hour's conversation with him to-day; on which the Professor resolved to accompany me to Hamilton Palace in my open noddy; and while he was dressing I sat in the dining-room with his daughter-in-law and granddaughter. We reached the Palace about one, and remained a long while in the dining-room and magnificent picture gallery, till the Duke made his appearance. He was somewhere about his grounds, and the servants went in quest of him. Meanwhile there came down to us Mr. Skinner, the tutor of the young Marquis, an English clergyman, who seemed very intelligent and very pious. He heard me in St. John's Chapel, and was very unreserved in his compliments. Besides him there was a most interesting young man, apparently of seventeen or eighteen, who told us that the Duchess had a most severe headache, and could not see us. She regretted very much that she could not fulfil her purpose of hearing me in St. John's Chapel from the same cause. The young man afterwards made up to me, and said that I knew his mother, Lady Dunmore, on which I imagined him to be our old friend, Lord Fincastle, grown very tall, but it turned out to be the second son. He talked much of his mother's Sabbath schools, and altogether impressed me with the conception of one of the most amiable and pleasing young men whom I had ever met with. About two o'clock the Duke made his appearance, and shook hands very cordially with Professor Jardine and myself. We all retired to a smaller room, and had a conversation of nearly an hour on pauperism, during which, though somewhat flurried, I flatter myself that I did make some im-

pression. Reached Lanark between eight and nine. Got a man with some difficulty, and who was half-drunk, to carry my luggage to Smylham Park. He dropt it once or twice; and I walked behind him somewhat uncomfortably. The distance was a mile: we made it out by ten, and I was kindly received and entertained by the family of Sir William Honeyman.

"*Wednesday.*—Lady Honeyman of great sense and homely vigour, like her father, the old Lord Braxfield. Mr. Menzies and two dissenting clergy came to breakfast, and about sixteen honest men, Sabbath teachers, who stood up at the end of the drawing-room while I addressed them on the subject of local schools. Walked at eleven with one of the ministers to New Lanark, where I visited Mr. Owen. I was delighted with the Rev. Mr. Harper following up Mr. Owen's speculation about the great moral revolution that was at hand with his about the earthquake in the book of Revelation. I meant to have gone back to the works and witnessed the singing and the dancing; but Sir William came for me with his two daughters in his carriage and took me away. Called on Mr. Menzies the minister by the way. Dined at four. Driven to the church at six: preached to nearly three thousand people."

"*Edinburgh, Wednesday, August 4th.*—Started between six and seven. The eldest son of Mr. Menzies came to Smylham Park at half-past seven, agreeably to a previous arrangement, with his father's gig, which I entered, and was driven by him to Carstairs House, the new and magnificent abode of Mr. Menteith, where I sauntered with the gentlemen till after twelve o'clock. Drove through a new country. The first stage very wild. The last, near Edinburgh, particularly beautiful.

"*Thursday.*—Started between six and seven. Took an early breakfast. Went to the North Bridge on chance, and with a great feeling of lightness because of having got quit of my luggage and being weighted only with two neckcloths. Found

two coaches at eight o'clock on the start for Costerton, and had an inside berth in one of them for four shillings and sixpence. Rode on about fourteen miles, and landed after ten. Had then a long mile to walk, and got at length to a beautiful sylvan recess, at the bottom of which I descried an irregularly shaped house, and on my approach could distinguish Dr. Hunter's white head through one *lozen* of an end window and Mr. Duncan's profile through another *lozen* of it. Dr. Nicoll came out and gave me a bland and cordial reception. It was exclusively an academic party, Dr. James Hunter being also there, and Mr. Gillespie having joined us about three o'clock. Mr. Duncan annoyed me by the affirmation that I am sensibly and considerably fatter since I left St. Andrews. There must be serious measures taken to keep me down. Had cordial greetings with the gentlemen in the library, then we sallied out to the premises, and had a very delightful forenoon saunter through the woods and lanes of Costerton. We fixed the situation of a future moss-house, for which Dr. Hunter I hope will write an inscription; and I have left the fragment of a knife, broken by Mr. Duncan, in a spot which overhangs a bath to be made in a linn. By the way, I am not altogether fond of the Stockport business. I hope that you and the children went to see M. Alexandre, and that he called upon you. His exhibition in private is, I understand, still more impressive than in public. Before dinner we had a game at bowls in a green before the house. I and Mr. Duncan against Dr. Nicoll and Dr. James Hunter. We had the best of three games. Mr. Gillespie afterwards took up Mr. Duncan and was beat by him. With all the convivialities of the west I have seen no such guzzling as to-day with my St. Andrews' friends, and told Mr. Duncan so. They are rare lads these *Lee*terati or *Ea*terati. Before supper there was family worship, when I was asked to officiate. We were shewn to our beds about twelve. I got the large bed-room

in which Mr. Duncan was the night before, and he had a closet with a small sofa-bed that communicated with the room. This arrangement was vastly agreeable to me; and we tumbled into our respective couches between twelve and one. I like him.

"*Friday.*—Got up about eight. Went to Mr. Duncan's closet and got behind him in his sofa-bed, where I had a good purchase for jamming him out, and did so accordingly. Had cordial talk with him. Had a turn before breakfast, and agreed to find my way with him to Edinburgh by the help of coaches which go past this way. Dr. Nicoll, however, traversed this arrangement, he having so ordered it as to go to Edinburgh in his own carriage—to take Dr. Hunter and me along with him, and offered a place in the dickie to any other. I offered to take the dickie, but he would not hear of it; and as Mr. Duncan professed himself liable to giddiness Dr. James Hunter sat beside the driver, and in this style we drove to Edinburgh. I had to explain and half apologize to Mr. Duncan for having deserted him, and he instantly saw that such an exclusive preference on our part for one another might hurt the feelings of our elders, and that it was far better to acquiesce in their plan. We set off between ten and eleven. But between that and breakfast, Mr. Gillespie, who is somewhat of a bluster, challenged me to a game at bowls, when, to the great satisfaction of all, I beat him, by thirteen to eight. On our way to Edinburgh got in two newspapers at Dr. Nicoll's post-office, which we read in the chaise.

"*Anstruther, Sunday.*—Got up at nine, a good deal recruited, yet with the sensation that one good sleep required another. Had family worship after breakfast, and enjoyed my walking in the garden on the Sabbath morning. It recalled other days. The evening sermon began at six. The church was completely full, and many standers. Some had to go away. I preached the same missionary sermon that I had revised in the session-

room, and which I have preached in Cupar, Perth, Edinburgh, Lanark, and Anstruther. It has done very well in that it has got £300 for the cause. I was very much tired."

In the midst of his Glasgow labours a call had been made upon Dr. Chalmers to preach for the Sabbath-school at Stockport. So early as the year 1805 a few zealous and liberal inhabitants of that town, at a cost of upwards of £4000, had raised an edifice capable of accommodating, with every convenience for instruction, upwards of 4000 children. Large as this building was it was soon filled to overflow. To raise the funds necessary to liquidate a debt still remaining upon it, and to meet the current annual expenditure, the managers had established an anniversary celebration at which many eminent clergymen officiated, and at which, in order to increase the attraction, select and varied pieces of vocal music were performed. In ignorance of these musical accompaniments Dr. Chalmers engaged to preach the anniversary sermon. Of the Institution itself he had the highest estimate. The call however to plead for it had come at a very inopportune time. The General Assembly and Glasgow had together consumed nearly half of his summer vacation, and little time was left to complete the preparations for his second session at St. Andrews. Nevertheless, as a promise was pleaded, he resolved to comply. Perhaps, however, the reluctance with which he was dragged away may have whetted a little the edge of that feeling as to the musical accessories of the celebration, which breaks out in his amusing record of this hurried visit to Stockport.

"*Edinburgh, October 5th*, 1824.—*Tuesday.*—Did not land at Newhaven till after five. In our drive up fell in with two young gentlemen with whom it is possible that I may form an arrangement for posting it to Manchester. Most kindly received by Miss ——. After tea the young gentleman called

to whom I had proposed to post it to Manchester. He turns out to be the son of Dr. Stewart of the Canongate, and brother of Alexander now in Cromarty. He and his brother go out to the East Indies, and go up to London by Manchester. I breakfast with them on Thursday, to arrange matters.

"You would be amused with the state of matters here. Miss —— evidently making a great effort both to accommodate me and to abstain from pressing. She makes open proclamation of my freedom, protests that she will make no infringement thereupon—is determined to act up strictly to the principle of leaving me to myself; and if she would simply and silently do so it were most delightful. But she is so very loud in the profession of this her new system, and withal so very fearful and so obviously so of even the slightest encroachment upon it, that while she studies to abstain from all restraints upon me, she gives me a feeling that I am a very great restraint upon her. She is a truly kind and pleasant person notwithstanding, though her treatment is calculated to give a bystander the impression that I am a very sensitive and singular personage withal. She never asks the same thing twice of me, but she makes up for this by the exceeding multitude of these things, such as, if my tea is right—if I would like more sugar—if I take cream—if I am fond of little or much cream—if I would take butter to my cake—when I take to loaf, if I take butter to my white bread—if I move from one part of the room to another, whether I would not like to sit on the sofa—after I have sat there, whether I would like to stretch out my legs upon it—after I have done that, whether I would let her wheel it nearer the fire—when I move to my bed-room, whether the fire is right—whether I would like the blinds wound up? &c., &c. She at the same time most religiously abstains from repetitions, but to reply even once to her indefinite number of proposals is fatigue enough, I can assure you; nor is the fatigue at all alle-

viated, when, instead of coming forth a second time with each she comes forth with a most vehement asseveration, accompanied by uplifted hands, that she will let me do as I like, that she will not interfere, that I shall have liberty in her house; and when I said that I behoved me to make calls immediately after dinner, she declared that I would have leave to go away with my dinner in my mouth if I so chose. I have got the better of all this by downright laughing, for I verily think now that the case is altogether desperate.

"*Thursday.*—Had a conversation with Miss —— before breakfast. Find that she is as much aggrieved by her servant as we are by ours. Let us not think that any strange thing has happened to us, or that any affliction hath overtaken us which is not common to our brethren in the world. Breakfasted with Mrs. Stewart, to whom I went in a hackney, it being a pour of rain. Arranged our journey with her and her two sons. Left them after breakfast, as I did not choose to be present at the parting scene. They came at two, and we drove on at the rate of six miles an hour or so. The posting is 1s. 3d. a mile, and I do not think we shall be much dearer than in the mail. I meant to have slept at Wilton with Dr. Charters, and to have let the young gentlemen go by themselves to Hawick, which is only half a mile further. But I found that the poor Doctor had been struck, though slightly, with palsy some little time before. The chaise stopped at the door while I stood at the bedside of the venerable man. I only remained two or three minutes with him. His memory is entire, although his spirit is somewhat affected. Came on with the young gentlemen to Hawick between eleven and twelve at night."

"*Lancaster, October 8th.—Friday.*—Started from Hawick at half-past six in a post-chaise. Left Langholm between eleven and twelve. A most beautiful stage to Longtown, where we found all the horses out, and therefore took on our Langholm

horses to Carlisle, where we arrived between two and three. Anxious to get on, we pushed forward to Penrith, then to Kendal, where we arrived before ten; far too jaded, however, for calling on Mr. Pearson or any of my other friends. Here we got tea, coffee, and solids, and combined three meals into one. Went to bed at half-past eleven, after a journey of eighty-six miles.

"*Saturday.*—Got off in a post-chaise after six. Far more rapid driving in England than Scotland: took two stages before breakfast—first to Burton, then to Lancaster, twenty-two miles in less than three hours. Posted southwards to Preston, Bolton, and Manchester, where we arrived at six. Had a solid tea at Manchester. Wrote Mr. Grant of my arrival. This was followed up by the appearance of Mr. Robert Dalgleish, our young St. Andrean, who came it seems from Liverpool to-day for the purpose of seeing me. I went over with him to Mr. Grant's, where I was most kindly received. They have got the sermon into the newspaper, and on reading the advertisement I was well-nigh overset by the style of it. They are going to have a grand musical concert along with the sermon, to which the best amateurs and performers of the neighbourhood are to lend their services. This is all put down in their gaudy manifesto, and to me it is most ineffably disgusting. You know that I am to be very guarded; but I could not perfectly disguise my antipathies to this part of the arrangement. I asked Mr. Grant if I might take the paper with me for the amusement of my Scottish friends. He asked if I disliked music. I said that I liked music, but disliked all charlatanerie. Thus far I went; and it was perhaps too far, but this is really making it a theatrical performance, and me one of the performers. But let me be patient; I am jaded and overdone, and reserve my further writing till Monday. Mr. Grant is very peremptory on the subject of my spending some days, but I must be off on Monday night, or very early on Tuesday morning. Went to bed about eleven.

"*Sunday.*—Sadly annoyed all last night with the quackish advertisement, and spoke further of it at breakfast. About twelve Mr. and Mrs. Grant came in their carriage, and the former accompanied me in a chaise to Stockport. I was to visit the school at one, and the sermon was to begin at half-past five. My other friends from Manchester were to come in the evening in two carriages, and one of them a chaise and four. I reached Stockport at one with Mr. Grant. Could see a certain hard and ungracious reception of me, perhaps from the consciousness of something wrong on their part. Mr. M——, my correspondent, did not appear for some time, and when he did, there was a blush in his countenance and a tremulousness in his voice. I was in the midst of managers, and the stairs to the different rooms of their immense fabric were crowded with scholars. I asked what they were about; and with some hesitation and difficulty they told me that they had been practising for the music of this evening. When I went to the great preaching hall, I found that there was just this practising before an immense assemblage, on which I called out, in the distinct hearing of those about me, that there was an air of charlatanerie about the whole affair, and that I did not like it at all. I would stay no longer in that place, and went along with them to the committee-room, where there were about twenty managers and others. I said that I had come from a great distance on their account, and had therefore purchased the privilege of telling them plain things; that they should have consulted me ere they had made their arrangements—that I was quite revolted by the quackery of their advertisement—that they had made me feel myself to be one of the performers in a theatrical exhibition—that what they had done stood in the same relation to what they ought to have done, that an advertisement of Dr. Solomon's did to the respectable doings of the regular faculty, &c., &c. I was firm and mild withal—they confused, and awkward, and in diffi-

culties. I said, that still I would preach, but that I thought it right to state what I felt. On the other question of the urgency, and the pleading a promissory obligation on my part, I have as yet had no reckoning. I left there in the carriage with Mr. Grant and Mr. Marsland, for the magnificent place of the latter gentleman on the banks of the Mersey. He introduced me to his two daughters, who, I thought, had that peculiar stiffness and ceremony which I have often noticed in English ladies of high breeding. I was there shewn to my room, when I got a second letter from a minister on the subject of the indecent exhibition of Stockport. I had got one the night before from another minister on the same subject. It seems that many serious people here are scandalized at it, and that many eyes are fixed upon my conduct in regard to it. Mr. Marsland told me in his carriage, that he had forewarned the managers that they were carrying the matter too far, and that I would probably decline preaching altogether. My feeling is, that this would have been too violent, and I have several reasons for not carrying my resistance this length. However, I begged Mr. Marsland to send for Mr. M——, that I might hold conversation with him. Mr. M—— sent back word that he could not possibly come,—and why? because he was presiding at a dinner given before sermon to the *Gentlemen of the Orchestra*, and he was just in the middle of a speech to them when my message came. On this Mr. Marsland and Mr. Grant walked down to Stockport, and told Mr. M—— of my difficulties and wishes; that I would not comply with their arrangement until it was altered. They wished my prayers and sermon to be mixed up with their music, me all the while in the pulpit. I said, that I would not be present at their music at all, that my service should be separated altogether from their entertainment*—that I should

* Amongst those whose performances were to be mixed up with the sermon and prayers, the name of a Miss Cheese had been announced, and Dr. Chalmers good-

pray, preach, and pray again *in continuo*—not entering the pulpit till the moment of my beginning, and retiring from it so soon as I should have ended. The gentlemen had their interview with Mr. M——, and he was very glad to comply. I dined at half-past two—retired for an hour to prepare—drank coffee after five. The two gentlemen walked before, to be at the music. The two ladies went down with me in the carriage at six. Will you believe it? an orchestra of at least 100 people, three rows of female singers, in which two professional female singers, so many professional male singers, a number of amateurs: and I now offer you a list of the instruments, so far as I have been able to ascertain them—one pair of bass drums, two trumpets, bassoon, organ, serpents, violins without number, violoncelloes, bass viols, flutes, hautboys. I stopped in the minister's room till it was over. Went to the pulpit—prayed, preached, retired during the time of the collection, and again prayed. Before I left my own private room they fell too again with most tremendous fury, and the likest thing to it which I recollect is a great military band on the Castlehill of Edinburgh. I went up with the ladies again in the carriage. They were far franker and pleasanter than before. Supped after Mr Marsland's return. He told me that the collection was £398. Went to bed between eleven and twelve. I forgot to say that the number of my hearers was 3500.

"*Monday.*—I am told that the Stockport people, suspicious of my dislike to exhibitions, blazoned and advertised much less than they would have done; and the interpretation given by some to this is, lest it should meet my observation too soon. Found a company in David Grant's, and he kept me up till two in the morning. A kind-hearted, rattling fellow.—N.B. The collection is now £401."

humouredly reinforced his argument with the managers by telling them that in his country the cheese was never served till the solid part of the entertainment was over.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SESSION OF 1824-25—SUBJECTS AND ORDER OF THE COURSE—THE INTERIOR OF THE CLASS-ROOM—PEDESTRIAN APPROBATION—POETICAL QUOTATIONS—LECTURES ON POLITICAL ECONOMY—HUMOROUS ILLUSTRATIONS—CLASS EXERCISES—GENERAL RESULTS.

THE session of 1824-25 was the most brilliant epoch in Dr. Chalmers's academical career at St. Andrews. The dark clouds which shadowed the after period of his residence there had not yet arisen. The pressure of the preceding winter was removed. An auditory unparalleled both as to its numbers and its intelligence arrayed itself before him in the class-room. More than double the number of students that had ever in the days of his most famous predecessors attended the Moral Philosophy class stood enrolled, nearly one half of whom either came by what he denominated a lateral movement from the other universities of Scotland, or were furnished by England and Ireland. Many who had advanced much farther in their university curriculum returned upon their earlier studies, while the presence of one or two still older but amateur students, who consented to take part in all the exercises of the class-room, raised still higher its intellectual tone. The superior character and capacity of the students told upon the spirit and efforts of their professor. It was throughout one busy season of animating and most productive labour. His course of lectures on Ethics was carried a stage farther towards that condition of

completeness, which however they were destined never to attain. In reviewing the topics which according to the existing practice of the Scottish Universities were treated by the professors of moral philosophy, he became convinced that a twofold error had been committed. There had been an undue expansion and there had been an undue limitation of these topics. The writings of Hume, in which the very foundation of morals was threatened by a purely metaphysical scepticism, had drawn after him, into a region which was not properly their own, the professors of moral science in Scotland. Metaphysics and moral science had become so allied and interwoven that it was imagined that the one could not be rightly discussed without a preceding and enlarged treatment of the other. While entering into such close conjunction with one science from which it should have kept itself distinct, moral philosophy had been refusing all recognition of another science to which by certain very peculiar ties it was intimately related. Taking every benefit from the researches of the mental physiologist it refused all aid from the peculiar discoveries of revelation. Into the investigation of the great question as to man's duty here and his destiny hereafter, it advanced with an eye almost as blind as if the heavens had never opened—with an ear almost as deaf as if the voice of the Eternal had never been heard on earth. From both the evils thus inflicted on her Dr. Chalmers endeavoured to rescue the science committed to his care. Examined before the Royal Commissioners appointed to visit the Universities of Scotland, he gave the following account and vindication of the subjects and order of his course of lectures :—" In regard to the topics of my lectures I do not proceed on the very extended sense which has been given to the word *moral*. The academic sense of this word in Scotland is *mental*. The moral world is the world of mind, in contradistinction to the world of matter. This has given rise, I think,

to an unwarranted extension of our subject, and I have endeavoured to reduce it within its primitive and what I hold to be its proper boundaries. Moral philosophy is with me the philosophy of morals—the philosophy of duty. My course is purely an ethical one, and I draw upon the doctrines of mental philosophy only when I judge them to be subservient to the establishment and the illustration of ethical principles. In regard to the particular order of the course, I divide it into two general parts—*first*, the moralities which reciprocate between man and man on earth; and, *secondly*, the moralities which connect earth with heaven. In the first of these divisions I take occasion to discuss the elementary questions of morals, the different theories which have been propounded upon virtue; and I conclude with what may be regarded as the most arduous discussion in the course, but in which I am supported by the intelligent sympathy of my pupils as much as in any other part of it. I endeavour to demonstrate, that even were the doctrine of Necessity admitted, the distinctions of morality would not be overturned by it. I pass over from the first to the second division, I think, about the beginning of March. I here endeavour to elucidate the distinction between the ethics of the science and the objects of the science; the ethics being the moral properties which belong to certain relations, whether there are actually existing beings to exemplify these relations or not; the objects, again, of the science are the actually existing beings who stand in those relations to which the question of ethical propriety is applicable. There is no difficulty in regard to the objects in our first division: the beings who exemplify the relations are palpable to the senses—they are our fellowmen. There is a difficulty in regard to the second, because the beings who stand in the relations which call forth the moralities that connect earth with heaven are invisible; and upon that, therefore, I claim it to be within my department to de-

monstrate the existence and the character of a God so far as the light of nature will carry me—in other words, I give a course of natural theology. I beg leave to state here, however, that I consider it the most important service which a professor of moral philosophy can render to his students, to make palpable demonstration of the insufficiency of natural religion, so as to save them from the delusion that he has conducted them to a landing-place in which they might enjoy all the repose and the complacency of a finished speculation. Instead of which I endeavour to impress upon them that I have only conducted them to a post of observation whence they have to look most anxiously and earnestly forward to the ulterior region of the Christian theology. I endeavour to demonstrate that our science is a rudimental and not a terminating one; that is, a science not of *dicta*, but a science of *desiderata;* and I state to them that those *desiderata* can only be met and satisfied by the counterpart doctrines of the Christian theology. I beg leave to make use here of an illustration: If natural philosophy were divided into two professorships, one of which related to the whole of terrestrial physics, and to that portion of celestial physics which is accessible to the unassisted observation of man; and the other of which related to that department of celestial physics the informations of which are brought home by the telescope; then if the professor of the former were to make no allusion either to the power of that instrument by which these farther informations were brought home, or at least to make no general allusion to the magnitude and importance of the informations themselves, although he did not enter into a detail of them, he would be doing a most grievous injustice to the noble science of astronomy. And in like manner I feel that I should be doing the utmost injustice to what may be considered as the science of celestial ethics, if I were to make no reference to that department of it which is beyond

the ken of the natural powers, but within the ken of the Christian revelation; and therefore I advert in the class, towards the conclusion of my course, to the strength of the evidences of Christianity; and I endeavour to make it palpable that the philosophy of a true Baconian mind is that philosophy which would lead us to cast down all our antecedent conceptions, and to sit down with the docility of little children at the bar of an authentic communication from heaven, provided that its authenticity has been established. I do not enter into the detail of the Christian evidences, but I give a general view of them. Neither do I enter into the detail of the doctrines propounded in the records of the great Christian embassy that took place two thousand years ago, but I give a very general sketch of these doctrines, and endeavour in this way to send away my students who are destined for the Church in a state of preparation for the lessons of theology, and to send away my general students in a right state of preparation for the study both of the evidences and contents of the Christian revelation. I may just add, that I know of nothing more important than that part of the subject which I call the outgoings of moral philosophy to the Christian theology; and the one subject bears so closely upon the other, that it weighs very much with me in the recommendation which I have already ventured to submit, that moral philosophy should be the terminating subject of the course, and come immediately on the year before the entrance of the students into the theological college."

The most valuable of these lectures were those which treated of natural theology. They were afterwards remodelled so as to suit the theological chair to which Dr. Chalmers was transferred, and will be found in the first and second volumes of his published works. In the fifth volume of the same series, the reader is presented with as many of the lectures in the first or strictly ethical division of his course as their author thought

fit to publish. They are detached from the connexion in which they originally stood, and do not therefore give any distinct idea of the nature or order of that part of his course. Under it the discussions which their author most prized, and in which he believed that he had been most successful, were those occupied with laying open the distinction between the voluntary and the purely and passively sentient or emotional in our nature; with the power and functions of the former in giving its character of rightness or wrongness to moral action; with the vast importance of the faculty of attention, both as the intermediate link between the moral and the intellectual parts of our nature, and as the great instrument for the cultivation of the heart; with the vindicating for the moral principle a separate and superior rank, as wholly underived from those emotions from which many eminent writers have attempted to trace its descent; and with the clear and broad distinction between the virtues of Beneficence and Justice, or more generally between the virtues of perfect and imperfect obligation, and the application of this distinction to the practice of legislation.

Dr. Chalmers's treatment of these topics from the chair was diffuse and illustrative. To facilitate the remembrance of his lectures, to give his students a distinct conception of the ground actually traversed, and to prepare them for that examination to which they were afterwards to be subjected, he dictated a few succint sentences, containing the leading topics of each lecture, so as to furnish his students with a condensed syllabus of his course. It would not have been easy for them amid the excitements of that class to have followed the old practice of the Scottish Universities by taking notes during the delivery of the lecture. The very manner of that delivery would have been sufficient to have kept their eye fixed upon the lecturer. There was, besides, the novelty of many of the specula-

tions, as well as of the garb in which they were presented; while the interest was at once deepened and diversified—at times by some extemporaneous addition or illustration, in which the lecturer springing from his seat, and bending over the desk, through thick and difficult and stammering utterance in which every avenue to expression seemed to be choked up, found his way to some picturesque conception and expressive phraseology, which shed a flood of light on the topic in hand; and again, by some poetic quotation recited with most emphatic fervour, or by some humorous allusion or anecdote told with archest glee. It was almost impossible in such a singular class-room to check the burst of applause, or to restrain the merriment. The professor did his best, and used many expedients for this purpose. Lecturing on the difference between the solitary and tranquil emotions of the intellect, and the more turbulent emotions of the theatre—"There is a practice," he continued, "which is now making sad desecration in some of our most famous universities, in some of which, I understand, every eloquent passage, every poetical quotation, or, what is more ridiculous still, the success of every experiment—and especially if any flash or explosion have come in its train, is sure to be followed up by so many distinct rounds of pedestrian approbation. Even the cold and unimpassioned mathematics, I have been given to understand, are now assailed with the din and disturbance of these popular testimonies; and on asking a professor of that science, whether it was the trapezium or isosceles triangle that called forth the loudest tempest of applause, I learned that the enamoured votaries are after all not very discriminating, but that they saluted each of these venerable abstractions with equal enthusiasm. It is a new and somewhat perplexing phenomenon in the seats of learning; and whatever diversity of taste or of opinion may obtain as to the right treatment of it, my friend and I agreed in one

thing, that if any response is to come back upon the professor for the effusions poured forth by him, it is far better that it should come from the heads than from the heels of the rising generation." We fear that the judge had scarcely pronounced the sentence when the crime condemned was recommitted; nor, putting ourselves into their position, can we severely blame the culprits.*

After a profound analysis, in which the moral sentiment was carefully discriminated from all the other affections of our nature, the professor proceeded in one of his lectures to mark off the distinction between it and the emotions excited by the sublime and beautiful in nature. As instances of this last class of emotions were quoted and described, he kindled into poetic fervour at the recital, till he broke forth at last into the declaration, that though still his philosophic spirit could not abandon the conviction that no moral quality attaches to that region of human feeling, yet he could scarcely repeat the verses of Beattie without joining in the sentiment of the last line:—

> "Oh! how canst thou renounce the boundless store
> Of charms which nature to her votary yields!
> The warbling woodland, the resounding shore,
> The pomp of groves, and garniture of fields;
> All that the genial ray of morning gilds,

* The pedestrian approbation accompanied Dr. Chalmers through the whole of his academical career. After the Disruption, temporary premises were taken for the classes in connexion with the Free Church. These premises were immediately adjoining to the house of an eminent dentist,—a thin partition wall dividing the room in which he operated upon his patients, from that in which Dr. Chalmers lectured to his class. The ruffing of the one room penetrated into the other, and disturbed at times its delicate and nervous operations. Mr. N. at last, and in the gentlest terms, complained to Dr. Chalmers, asking him whether he could not induce his students to abate the vehemence of their applause. As Dr. Chalmers entered his class-room on the day after that on which this complaint was made, a suppressed smile lurked in his expressive countenance. He rose, told the students of his interview with Mr. N., and, after requesting that the offence should not be repeated, warned them most significantly against annoying or provoking a gentleman who was so much *in the mouths of the public.*

And all that echoes to the song of even,
All that the mountain's sheltering bosom shields,
And all the dread magnificence of heaven,
Oh! how canst thou renounce, and hope to be forgiven!"

Towards the close of the session, and in dealing with Christian truth and the Christian evidences, he recited Cowper's celebrated contrast between Voltaire and the Christian cottager. Never did he repeat any passage of poetry with equal delight or equal fervour. In the chair and in the pulpit he used it more frequently than any other extract from any writer in prose or verse. It had more than its poetry to recommend it. It struck within his heart a chord that vibrated to the last; and we have heard him in one of his latest years, with a voice somewhat weaker, but with a fulness of sympathy as strong and fresh as that manifested before his students at St. Andrews, in sublime recitative, repeat the lines—

"She, for her humble sphere by nature fit,
Has little understanding and no wit;
She knows, and knows no more, her Bible true—
A truth the brilliant Frenchman never knew—
And in that charter reads with sparkling eyes
Her title to a treasure in the skies.
O happy peasant!—O unhappy bard!
His the mere tinsel—hers the rich reward!
He praised perhaps for ages yet to come;
She never heard of half a mile from home.
He, lost in errors his vain heart prefers;
She safe in the simplicity of hers."

It was known that in the latter part of his course Dr. Chalmers was touching upon some of those abstruse questions regarding the Christian evidences which the scepticism of Hume had raised and the philosophy of Campbell had attempted to resolve. Principal Nicoll visited the class-room to hear how a discussion so difficult, yet so interesting, would be conducted. Dr. Chalmers entered upon the consideration of our faith in testimony, which he classed with those original and indestructible beliefs which can as little be weakened by assault as they

can be fortified by foreign aid. The exposition of the futility of all attempts to improve upon nature's own simple method of sustaining herself in her primary convictions was most philosophically exposed; but we should like to have seen how the grave and benignant countenance of the Principal demeaned itself as the professor went on to say,—"Often when I think of these attempts does it bring to mind a most ridiculous story which upwards of twenty years ago I had from the mouth of Professor Walker of Edinburgh. He occupied the chair of natural history, and in his introductory lecture he gave an account of all the improvements that had taken place during the preceding vacation. Among the rest there had been invented a new method for the removal of caterpillars from the currant and gooseberry bushes of our gardens. You are aware of the vile and cruel way by which this removal is ordinarily accomplished. Instead of this it was proposed to employ a machine somewhat cumbersome and operose in its operation, which the professor therefore would not recommend. He illustrated his criticism on this new method for the destruction of caterpillars by the anecdote of a quack doctor who went about the country with a powder for the destruction of a still humbler but more agile insect. He was at great pains to demonstrate the virtues of the said application, and the powder was bought by the people in great quantities. In a few days, however, they came back to him complaining that they had made use of the powder, but without any effect. At no loss for his vindication, he replied that it certainly would have had its effect, but that they might not have taken the proper method of applying it; for if you had only caught hold of them, said he, by the nape of the neck, and blown the prescribed quantity of the powder into their mouths and eyes, I assure you it would have killed every one of them. When, in return, they said that could they only get hold of them by the neck, they thought

they could manage them without his powder; he dryly told them that either way would do."

Dr. Chalmers regularly examined his students upon the lectures which he delivered. The examination was much briefer than he desired, as only one hour was allotted daily to moral philosophy. The importance which he attached to this part of the class-exercises may be judged of by his writing out carefully beforehand the leading questions which he was to put, so as to secure a thorough elucidation of the subject. Notwithstanding this, one who was well fitted to judge—who some years before had passed through the best-taught class in any of the Scottish Universities, that of Professor Jardine in Glasgow—informs us that "the examination was anything but formal. It was enlivened by questions first addressed to individuals, and then, if unanswered, cast abroad on the whole class. Each was anxious to distinguish himself by his replies. The same question found diverse answers. In that diversity we found a new source of interest, and new lights were struck out. The excitement, the suspense of mind, and the successive approximations of one after another to the true and sufficient answer, created scenes of intellectual animation that I delight to recall. In the midst of these not seldom the professor himself broke in with some extemporaneous or half extemporaneous exposition on the topics that had come up. Nothing could be more genial than these gushes of fresh thought and vivid illustration. We called them his buds, and, like other buds, they were all the more interesting that they were not blown. In these excursions he often expressed himself with all the point, condensation, and terseness which every one must have observed in his conversational as contrasted with his written style. In a few emphatic and impassioned sentences he set before us the whole philosophy of a subject, and that in so compact and portable a form, that it was transferred not only to

our note-books, but lodged for life in our minds, under the triple guardianship of the understanding, the imagination, and the heart."*

In the Scottish Universities the professor of moral philosophy had occasionally given a few lectures on political economy in the course of his ordinary prelections. That science was too favourite a one with Dr. Chalmers for him to remain satisfied with the limited space to which it was thus necessarily confined. He announced, therefore, at the close of his first session in St. Andrews, that during the following winter he would open a separate class for political economy. He was not only convinced that there was abundant material for conducting such a class, but that these materials could be so employed as to make it one of the most attractive in the university. The result justified his expectations. In November 1826 he enrolled a numerous class, and by his manner of conducting it excited and sustained such an interest among the students, that when asked by the Royal Commissioners whether he found that political economy was a science that attracted them,—"I think," he said, "that upon the whole it is more attractive than moral philosophy." He did not teach this class by a course of lectures, but by means of a text-book. He prescribed regularly a certain portion of Smith's "Wealth of Nations" to be read and studied, upon which the students were afterwards closely and searchingly examined. In the course of these examinations he refuted or modified, supplemented or illustrated the views of the text-book, as they seemed to require it, introducing occasionally a more elaborate treatment of some leading topic; endeavouring in this way, and by references to publications more recent than that of Dr. Smith, to make his students acquainted with the latest and most approved doctrines of the

* MS. Memoranda by the Rev. George Lewis.

science. The beneficial effects of this method were so apparent that after describing it to the Royal Commissioners he added, —"I must say, that I feel great comfort in it, and am sensible of its great efficacy. I find that coming to close quarters with the juvenile mind upon subjects which they have previously read upon, is a very effective method of teaching them, insomuch that were I furnished with an unexceptionable set of text-books on moral philosophy, I should feel strongly inclined to adopt the same method in that class too." Besides its other and higher advantages this method gave scope for the indulgence of his taste and talent for humorous anecdote, the occasional interjecting of which must have been an agreeable relief to the laborious investigations of one of the most abstract of the sciences. In treating of the different standards of enjoyment existing among the working-classes in different countries, "I remember," said the professor, "hearing while I was in Glasgow of a Scotchman and an Irishman getting into converse and comparing notes with each other about their modes of living. The Scotchman, with a curiosity characteristic of his nation, asked the Irishman what he took to breakfast—the answer was, potatoes; he next asked what he took to dinner—it was the same answer, potatoes; he finally asked him what he took to supper—there was still the same unvarying answer, potatoes. 'But have you,' said the wondering Scotchman, who could not altogether comprehend the mystery of such a diet and regimen, 'but have you no *kitchen** to your potatoes?' At no loss for a reply, and determined not to be outdone, 'Any kitchen!' said

* When telling this story afterwards to a Committee of the House of Commons, Dr. Chalmers said,—"Perhaps it may be necessary to explain the term *kitchen*. With our Scottish peasantry, the substratum of the meal is either potatoes or bread; and if there be anything wherewith to season it in the shape of butter or cheese, or any coarse preparation of animal food, this, in the humble nomenclature of our poor, is called *kitchen*."

the Irishman, 'to be sure I have; why, don't I make the *big* potatoes kitchen to the *little* ones!'" On one occasion, however, the merriment of the class-room did not originate from the chair. A raw-boned student from the wilds of Ross-shire was called up for examination. "Who," said the professor, about to plunge with all eagerness into the discussion of the Malthusian doctrines, "who was the father of the correct theory of population?" At once, and in the strongest northern accent, his young friend answered, "Julius Cæsar." The gravest students were overset by this incongruous reply, and for a few minutes nothing was seen of the Professor himself but his back rising and falling above the book-board as he struggled with the fit of laughter into which he had been thrown. When at last he was able to command himself, he courteously apologized for his untimely hilarity to the poor student who still stood in confusion before him, and without the least allusion to the answer, expressed his great regret that he could never hear that peculiar dialect without his risibility being affected.

In addition to the prelections and examinations, the students both of the moral philosophy and political economy classes were required to write essays. On each Friday a topic was prescribed to a certain portion of the class. The essay was to be brief, occupying not more than eight or ten minutes in the delivery, and to be ready on the ensuing Friday, when it was read by its author publicly in the class, and criticised by the professor. In this way each student was obliged to write and read three or four essays during the session, while an opportunity was given to all the students of bestowing their own independent treatment upon about twenty of the most important subjects of the course. Besides their regular weekly essays, the subject for a prize essay was announced at Christmas, to be ready in the month of April. A great latitude was al-

lowed to the students as to the subjects of the ordinary weekly essays; they might either take the topic suggested, or any other connected with that part of the course which was then before them, and they might either adopt the views of the professor, or they were left free, and even invited to adopt and defend their own, though they should be different from or opposed to those promulgated from the chair. Few availed themselves of a privilege so hazardous; but it was on one occasion signally abused. "Most of Dr. Chalmers's students," says Mr. Lewis, "will recall his triumphant overthrow of Adam Smith's unfortunate distinction between productive and unproductive labour, in which the statesman, the judge, the lawyer, the teacher, the clergyman, and the man of science, are all classed among the non-producers, the '*nati consumere fruges*,' because they do not create any tangible commodity; while the pastry-cook, the squib manufacturer, and the vender of quack medicines, are exalted to the rank of productive labourers because they create tangible commodities. To rivet on our minds the absurdity of this distinction we got it as the subject of an essay. All the essayists echoed the views of the professor, varied only with such illustrations, grave or humorous, as occurred to them—all save one, who stood forth as the champion of Dr. Smith, and not content with maintaining his own views, he termed those of his professor Quixotic, and characterized the distinction that he had drawn as a *fantastic* distinction. This was too much. The Doctor felt it, and coloured deeply; replied by a profusion of argument and illustration, and after thrice slaying the slain, he returned next day to the charge with an elaborate written defence, until we roared out our convictions in unmistakable sounds; and the champion of squibs, and crackers, and puff-paste, was fain to hide his head amid the general uproar." Dr. Chalmers was far more indignant at the violence done to truth than to the invasion of his per-

sonal dignity. The latter he did little apparently to protect, but it abundantly protected itself. No stringent methods of discipline were adopted, yet, bating an occasional outbreak of applause, the order preserved in his classes was perfect. During one of his sessions he was considerably annoyed by two or three young men of superior rank who were frequently late in coming to the class, and when challenged gave rather dubious excuses. His patience was exhausted, and addressing himself to the class, he said, "I do confess that I have my jealousies about these explanations, and they never met with more to awaken them than this session, in consequence I believe of a certain systematic defiance of authority on the part of certain foolish young men who seem totally to have misunderstood the place which belongs to them, and whose manner not only makes them contemptible in youth, but, if persisted in, will make them odious in manhood. When academic proprieties are infringed upon, and the respect due to academic station is violated, no rank and no fortune shall shield it from the chastisement of my scorn. These distinctions are proper in general society, but within the walls of a university they should ever be unknown; and when the offending student stands before me with all the carelessness and complacency of a *petit maître*, I must confess that the very circumstance of his rank only whets my inclination to deal out the full measure of severity, and to blast his paltry insignificance into atoms." It was but very rarely that Dr. Chalmers had to discharge so disagreeable a duty. The general tone and spirit of his whole intercourse, both public and private, with his students was that of the kindest and most familiar cordiality. "Besides being repeatedly invited to his hospitable table, I remember," says Dr. Lorimer, "shortly after the session had begun, receiving a call from him at my lodgings. The forenoon class was over, he said, and he had come to see

whether one or two of the students would take a walk with him. I was too happy to accept the invitation, and accordingly, in company with a fellow-student, I had soon the rare happiness of a familiar walk with him along the beach of St. Andrews on a bright winter day."

Classes conducted by such an instructor, in which the methods now indicated were so vigorously prosecuted, could not but be effective. When he accepted the appointment to St. Andrews, many a misgiving had been expressed as to his fitness for the new office, and many a sage reflection had been thrown out as to the opposite qualities that were required for the pulpit and for the chair. His lectures soon gave evidence that he could be profound as well as popular; and as to his mode of training the young, if the highest end of all good teaching be to awaken intellectual impulses and stimulate to intellectual activity, that end was gained in a pre-eminent degree. An indescribable impulse was excited and sustained among the students. There was not a latent spark of intellectual enthusiasm in any breast that was not kindled into a glowing flame. It was impossible not to follow where such a leader led the way, and with many, as with himself, the pursuit became a passion. There was but one other professor in the Scottish Universities who had been equally successful, though in a very different way, in calling the youthful intellectual energy into action, and he was now sinking into the sear and yellow leaf. "If Professor Jardine of Glasgow," says one who was a student under both, "had the art above most men of 'breaking the shell,' to use Lord Jeffrey's phrase, Dr. Chalmers excelled in tempting those whose shell was already broken, to prove their wings—in teaching them how to fly, and whither to direct their flight. Under Jardine we learned that we had an intellectual life; at St. Andrews we were provoked to use it; and in the joy of its exercise, though we often mistook intellectual ambition for in-

tellectual ability, time corrected that mistake, and meanwhile whatever was in us was drawn out of us by the intensive and enthusiastic spirit of our intellectual chief."*

* "A very interesting part of Dr. Chalmers's conduct of his class, and to me entirely new, in the philosophical department, was daily prayer. The exercise was very short, like the brief prayers prefixed to some of Calvin's Lectures in his Commentaries, consisting of a few sentences, but, like the Reformer's, always impressive, and sometimes very sublime. The adorations and petitions were frequently suggested by the matter of the preceding lecture, which added to their interest. The virtual recognition of Divine Revelation in this form was very salutary to young men engaged on themes which, at their age, frequently suggest sceptical thoughts. I have often wished that the record of these devotional introductions to the lectures had been collected and preserved."—*MS. Memoranda by Dr. Lorimer.* These prayers are preserved, written in short-hand by Dr. Chalmers, and, along with the syllabus of his course, and a few of the most valuable of his lectures, are reserved for future publication.

CHAPTER V.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1825—DR. ANDREW THOMSON AND DR. CHALMERS—NOTICES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY—DR. CHALMERS PRESENTS HIMSELF AS A REPENTANT CULPRIT AT ITS BAR.

THE General Assembly of 1825 brought once more into collision the two great parties into which the Church of Scotland was divided. From the deep depression into which it had sunk at the close of the preceding century, the evangelical interest had been rapidly ascending till it had gained strength enough to cope with its opponent even in the arena of the General Assembly. For its position in that venerable Court it was especially indebted to the Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson. Placed in the most prominent pulpit of Edinburgh, this eminent minister had preached evangelical doctrines in so manly and vigorous a style as thoroughly to vindicate their advocacy from the reproach of feebleness or puerility. Mixing largely in society, his varied information, his fund of anecdote, his readiness at repartee, his masculine good sense, his musical taste and talent, his broad and genial humanity, had conspired with his great Christian worth to confer upon him extensive social influence. That influence added largely to the weight of his Sabbath discourses, and he had not long been minister of St. George's Church till he fairly turned the tide in favour of evangelism in the most influential circles of the metropolis. But it was as a debater in the ecclesiastical Courts that Dr. Thomson shone

pre-eminent. He had studied the constitution and made himself familiar with the practice of these Courts. Prompt, self-possessed, and furnished with almost every kind of needful weapon, he varied the closest and most crushing argument with sallies of broad humour and shafts of playful satire. He rushed into debate as the war-horse into the battle, rejoicing in the conflict, merciless indeed in his onslaught, but generous to the honourable foe. "In the business of debate," said Dr. Chalmers, speaking of him after death had laid him low, "though great execution is often done by the heavy artillery of prepared speeches, yet the effect of these is incalculably aided by the well-timed discharge of those smaller fire-arms which are used in the skirmishings of extemporaneous warfare. I only knew one individual in our Church who had this talent in perfection; and in his hands it was anything but a small fire-arm. Would that there were twenty alike able and intrepid and as pure as I judge him to have been, on many of the great questions of ecclesiastical polity. The very presence of such would have resistless effect on the divisions of our judicatories. But it forms a very rare combination when so much power and so much promptitude go together, or when one unites in his speaking the quickness of opportune suggestion with the momentum of weighty and laborious preparation."*

In the two leading discussions of the Assembly of 1825 Dr. Thomson and Dr. Chalmers stood side by side, Dr. Thomson throwing his chief weight into the one debate, Dr. Chalmers throwing his into the other. The Highland parish of Little Dunkeld had from time immemorial enjoyed the benefit of a Gaelic ministry. A presentation, however, had recently been issued by the Crown in favour of an individual wholly unacquainted with the Gaelic language. The Presbytery refused to sustain this presentation; the Synod of Perth and Stirling affirmed that deci-

* See Dr. Chalmers's *Posthumous Works*, vol. ix. p. 84.

sion; and the matter was brought up for final settlement to the Assembly. Dr. Thomson moved, and Dr. Chalmers seconded the motion, that the Presbytery should be instructed not to proceed with such a settlement, and that this decision should be respectfully communicated to the officers of the Crown, in order that another and properly qualified individual might be presented. Rarely, either in the Senate or at the Bar, has a higher display of argument and eloquence been witnessed than that exhibited by Dr. Thomson on this occasion; and at the close of the debate he had the extreme gratification of seeing his motion carried by a majority of 107 to 89. Dr. Chalmers was not so successful in the motion which he presented to the House. His case was not perhaps so strong; long usage, at least, had been in favour of that union of offices which it was the object of his motion to abolish. In a Church which does not permit any of its ministers to discharge their duties by deputy, it was not difficult to establish the impropriety of committing to one individual a city parochial charge and a university chair; and while Professors Stewart and Playfair, animated with the love of science, had sought some years before to protect the chairs of the University of Edinburgh from falling into the hands of city clergymen, it was not unnatural that Dr. Chalmers and his friends should endeavour to protect another and more sacred interest. They were destined, however, on this occasion to suffer another defeat; but defeat brought no discouragement, as appears from the following broken and hurried notices of this Assembly, which were all that Dr. Chalmers could find time to transmit from Edinburgh to St. Andrews:—

"*Wednesday, May 18th,* 1825.—After leaving you, had to stop a quarter of an hour on the pier; rowed over to the east pier after the blowing of the horn, and sheltered ourselves there for some time; at length went out of the harbour, where

the sea was really tremendous; and when at length we got alongside of the boat, the dashing of our skiff against the ladder, we lifting it up, and it pressing us down, was truly dangerous. Got to Mr. Tennent's after eight. Dr. Andrew Thomson, Mr. William Paul, and two other gentlemen came to supper; had a deal of Assembly talk.

"*Thursday.*—Walked to Newhaven; got into the 'Lady of the Lake' at Trinity Pier; a pleasant passage of an hour and a half; still an east wind, however, which on your account I dislike; reached Broomhall at twelve; had a long talk with Lady Elgin and Lady Matilda in the drawing-room; the rest of the elder part of the family not at home; a lunch; went to my bed-room, where I conned and wrote a little for the Assembly; also conned on my walk to Newhaven and in the steamboat; walked out in the policy and conned. Lord Elgin is quite indifferent as to the mode of the baptism: I managed it in this way; both stood up, that is, Lord and Lady Elgin, and I addressed them both as sponsors for the child; Lord Elgin, it is true, held it up—but still Lady Elgin a Presbyterian became a sponsor, and this I think should satisfy the most scrupulous; much agreeable conversation; went to bed before twelve o'clock; the child had on the same christening dress that Lord Elgin himself had worn at his christening.

"*Friday.*—I found yesterday a new waistcoat among my clothes which I did not commission; however, I put it on with the rest of my new suit, and being a good day came yesterday to Broomhall without luggage. My *braws* are not the worse. Started this morning after seven; had an early breakfast; Lady Matilda poured it out to me—she is a most devoted Christian; Lord Elgin and she went a great way with me to the boat; took my leave of them about nine; conned all morning and in the steamboat; arrived at the Trinity Pier about eleven; walked to Mrs. Tennent's, whom I found at

home; she had occasion to go off, however, and I had two hours for Assembly preparation and conning. Dr. Andrew Thomson called, and I had a good deal of Assembly conversation with him. It is still an east wind, and I think much of you, my dear G.

"*N.B.*—On looking towards St. Andrews from Leith Walk I perceived a dense cloudiness all along the horizon; this I have no doubt was your easterly haar, at the very time that we were in brilliant sunshine and were oppressed with heat. I further saw that Burntisland and Kirkaldy were completely free of the haar. I would therefore most seriously advise you to come to Burntisland, or what perhaps would be still better, to Kirkaldy, till the season of the obstinate east wind is over. May the God of all grace be with you and my dear children. Travel not unless you are quite able; but I am persuaded that it will be of great consequence for you to make your escape for a fortnight from these fogs and chills of the German Ocean.

"*Friday, 27th.*—We have done great things, but not carried the Plurality question, it being lost by the small majority of twenty-six. We did gloriously on Tuesday with the Dunkeld cause."

"*Edinburgh, May 31st,* 1825.—This has been a glorious and very hopeful Assembly. I spoke seven times in it, and everything has gone on well. The division on Pluralities is felt to be a thorough defeat by the opposite party. We had a majority of clergymen who voted with *us,* although *they* had six or seven pluralists on their side, beside the friends and dependents of pluralists, and the whole tribe of expectants. Their nominal victory has been altogether due to the packing of elders; and there is not now a doubt that the sense both of the Church and of the public is altogether against a system which must sooner or later come down.

"You know that it requires forty presbyteries to make any

overture pass into a law. The overture for the attendance of students has just had thirty-seven, within three of the number. I threatened them with a speech if they would not retransmit the overture. This was instantly complied with, and there can be no doubt of our obtaining three more in the course of a twelvemonth.

"A number of acquaintances here, but I have just got a glance of them. Our Assembly closed yesterday—the most bustling that has been held for a very long time. I am still in great exhaustion."

"*Kirkaldy, June 2d*, 1825.—I went to Dalry House on Tuesday. It was fortunate, for yesterday, (Wednesday,) after the excitements of the Assembly had ceased, its fatigues told upon me, and I spent the day in a state of great exhaustion and drowsiness. Nothing could exceed the attentions of Lady Carnegie and Captain Wauchope, who with his lady is now at Dalry. At seven at night I found that I could keep up no longer, and was necessitated to go to bed. During the whole Assembly I have slept but little, and very irregularly, but last night I slept profoundly and almost perpetually for ten hours. I am now certainly much refreshed, but in that state when one good sleep requires another."

It is curious and characteristic that no allusion is here made by Dr. Chalmers to what was not only the most striking incident of this Assembly, but was perhaps, externally, the most imposing single passage in his life. The discussion on Pluralities having lasted till midnight on Wednesday the 25th, was adjourned till the following day. Late in the afternoon of the second day's debate, a speech on the opposite side had been closed by a quotation from an anonymous pamphlet, in which the author asserted that, from what to him was the highest of all authority, the authority of his own experience, he could assert that, "after the satisfactory discharge of his parish duties, a

minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure for the prosecution of any science in which his taste may dispose him to engage." As this passage was emphatically read, no doubtful hint being given as to its authorship, all eyes were turned towards Dr. Chalmers. The interposition of another speech afforded him an opportunity for reflecting on the best manner of meeting this personal attack. At the close of the debate, and amid breathless silence, he spoke as follows :—

"Sir, that pamphlet I now declare to have been a production of my own, published twenty years ago.* I was indeed much surprised to hear it brought forward and quoted this evening; and I instantly conceived that the reverend gentleman who did so, had been working at the trade of a resurrectionist. Verily I believed that my unfortunate pamphlet had long ere now descended into the tomb of merited oblivion, and that there it was mouldering in silence, forgotten and disregarded. But since that gentleman has brought it forward in the face of this House, I can assure him that I feel grateful to him from the bottom of my heart, for the opportunity he has now afforded me of making a public recantation of the sentiments it contains. I have read a tract entitled the 'Last Moments of the Earl of Rochester,' and I was powerfully struck in reading it, with the conviction how much evil a pernicious pamphlet may be the means of disseminating. At the time when I wrote it, I did not conceive that my pamphlet would do much evil; but, Sir, considering the conclusions that have been deduced from it by the reverend gentleman, I do feel obliged to him for reviving it, and for bringing me forward to make my public renunciation of what is there written. I now confess myself to have been guilty of a heinous crime, and I now stand a repentant culprit before the bar of this venerable Assembly.

* See vol. i. of these *Memoirs*, pp. 91-94.

"The circumstances attending the publication of my pamphlet were shortly as follows: As far back as twenty years ago, I was ambitious enough to aspire to be successor to Professor Playfair in the mathematical chair of the University of Edinburgh. During the discussion which took place relative to the person who might be appointed his successor, there appeared a letter from Professor Playfair to the magistrates of Edinburgh on the subject, in which he stated it as his conviction, that no person could be found competent to discharge the duties of the mathematical chair among the clergymen of the Church of Scotland. I was at that time, Sir, more devoted to mathematics than to the literature of my profession; and feeling grieved and indignant at what I conceived an undue reflection on the abilities and education of our clergy, I came forward with that pamphlet to rescue them from what I deemed an unmerited reproach, by maintaining that a devoted and exclusive attention to the study of mathematics was not dissonant to the proper habits of a clergyman. Alas! Sir, so I thought in my ignorance and pride. I have now no reserve in saying that the sentiment was wrong, and that, in the utterance of it, I penned what was most outrageously wrong. Strangely blinded that I was! What, Sir, is the object of mathematical science? Magnitude and the proportions of magnitude. But *then*, Sir, I had forgotten *two magnitudes*—I thought not of the littleness of time—I recklessly thought not of the greatness of eternity!"*

For a moment or two after the last words were spoken a death-like stillness reigned throughout the House. The power and pathos of the scene were overwhelming, and we shall search long in the lives of the most illustrious ere we find another instance in which the sentiment, the act, the utterance, each rose to the same level of sublimity, and stood so equally embodied in the one impressive spectacle.

* Report of the Debate, &c. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1825.

CHAPTER VI.

JOURNAL OF 1825-26.

THE delightful transition from the turmoil of Glasgow to the tranquillity of St. Andrews had certain weighty penalties attached to it. "It will give you, I am sure," Dr. Chalmers wrote to an old Glasgow friend, "great pleasure to know that I am in great health and physical comfort in St. Andrews. It were ungrateful to my dear friends in Glasgow to expatiate upon this topic, but the truth is, that I was upon a most violent and unnatural strain there, and that though there is necessarily much of effort requisite here for the preparations of my new office, yet from my comparative states now and formerly, I am positively at this moment, and have been for many weeks, in the feeling of a most delicious repose. I know well at the same time that this may alienate from God, and that health and friendship and the enjoyment of old associations, and congenial literature, and animating success in labours which are light and exhilarating—that these may take possession of the heart as so many idols, and bring it altogether under the power of ungodliness. Do let me have an interest in your prayers."* The first entry in a Journal, resumed after more than a year's interruption, is "Danger of many withering influences in St. Andrews; on the other hand, I have less of bustle and distraction. I pray that God would strengthen in me the things which remain, and which are ready to die."

* Letter to Mrs. Henry Paul, dated January 12, 1824.

The alarm felt thus at the commencement of his residence in St. Andrews, time did nothing to mitigate. It was aggravated by the isolated position which he occupied, the spirit of Moderatism being dominant both in the university and in the town. "Perhaps," he writes in February 1824, "there is no town in Scotland more cold and meagre and moderate in its theology than St. Andrews." And when the isolation passed into opposition, and he was involved unwillingly in controversy with his colleagues, it would seem as if he had been more forcibly thrown back into that secret place where the deepest fountains of his comfort and his strength were lying. His Journal, often relinquished previously for long intervals, and broken and fragmentary in its general character, expands now for a single year in its dimensions, permitting us to trace the most secret exercises of his mind amid uncongenial and conflicting elements :—

"*Sunday, June 26th*, 1825.—After the interval of more than a twelvemonth have again recurred to my Journal. Have not made progress during this interval, and find that I must just recur, as at the first, to the blood of Christ as my atonement—to the righteousness of Christ as my plea ; but, oh ! that under these principles I experienced more of the spirit of Christ in my heart, and anything like the satisfactory evidence of my having become a new creature. I have had recent visits from Mr. Babington and Mr. Erskine.* The impulse of these visits

* "I have heard to-day that Mr. Erskine is staying now with Dr. Chalmers, and as we are to have a Missionary meeting this evening, he is to be one of the speakers, as well as Dr. C. I probably may find an opportunity of speaking to him, and getting some information concerning Geneva. Since finishing the last sentence I have both heard and conversed with Mr. E. He gave the meeting some account of the state of religion on the Continent, Germany, France, and *notre Suisse*, through which he has been travelling. This morning I was quietly taking my solitary repast, when my reveries were broken in upon by the sudden entrance of the Doctor, who had heard I was partially acquainted with Mr. E., and came to invite me to breakfast. He is truly a most delightful man, and the conversation carried on between him and the Doctor was most instructive ; I was a privileged hearer, and merely from time to time put in my word of assent. The current of discourse ran upon the Mosaic account of the creation—the discoveries of modern geologists—

remains; and this day I have proposed a more distinct and strenuous work of sanctification, and shall allow, if God will, much larger space than before for the employment of daily and direct communion with Himself.—Had great freedom and facility this evening with my Sabbath-school. In a state this day more of purpose and desire than of pleasurable manifestation.

"27*th*.—Rose at seven. Wrote the journal of the preceding day. Read a little of 'Romaine on Faith,' and two chapters, one of the Old and the other of the New Testament. Intermingled the reading with devotional exercises; then read and prayed with my girls. Went about nine to the newspaper room. Breakfasted—I should have preceded it with family worship. Composition till between one and two; walk with Mrs. Chalmers; again composition till dinner—had prayer before it; letter-writing and reading till ten; then perhaps a little composition; walk and family worship; supper, but before it retired meditation and self-examination; after it a little composition, which I often find more vigorous than at other times. Go to bed between eleven and twelve.

"The above a slight sketch of what I aim at filling up. This amount of composition proceeds from my desire to complete speedily my third volume of the 'Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns.' I am composing rather plainly.

"Kept by this outline pretty well to-day. Made progress in devotion, and felt a peace and a charity afterwards. Had some religious conversation with my children. Oh that God would effectually influence their hearts to turn to Him, and to choose Him as their God!

the state of Italy and Geneva—and the place sanctification holds in the Scriptural system. These, though various, were all interesting topics; and upon the last it was concluded, that it is good to consider holiness as a great part of the salvation brought to light by the gospel, the superstructure which the divinely appointed mechanism of doctrines and promises is to rear. This is a happy way of silencing those reiterated objections, that we encourage to sin because grace abounds."—*Memoir of John Adam*, pp. 91, 92.

"28*th*.—Had less of light and life in my devotional exercises this morning. Waited for some time but without success. Surely in the absence of conception there may be faith and principle, and let me follow up a morning of darkness with a day of close and conscientious observation. Keep alive in me, O God, the love of Thyself, and the love of my neighbour, and all will be right. Have gleams of sunshine in the reading of 'Romaine,' and find that I can get better on through the medium of tangible remarks and doctrines; and in what other way indeed but by the presentation of truth can good feelings be awakened? Oh that I could appropriate Christ more simply, and then should I experience Him to be the power of God for both a present and a future salvation!

"Have to record some aberrations of spirit, in addition to a great want of positive love for those among whom I move, and who come within my notice and conversation in society. Impatient at the want of what I conceive equal and fair attention in company. Have to remark, that in proportion as I am engrossed with my daily literature in that proportion I am exiled from God, and let this endear to me the more our Christian Sabbath, and lead me diligently to improve it.

"29*th*.—Find that the sederunt after breakfast is, in respect of composition, far the most productive. Somewhat more successful in my morning exercise, but find that allied with my want of spirituality there is the working of a strong legal spirit. I feel myself knocking at a door which I cannot open, but let me continue to knock and the door shall be opened to me; meanwhile there are states of mind and behaviour which cannot be acquiesced in, else surely I am no true seeker—such alienation from God for hours together, a grievous want of any feeling of the second law, a readiness to coalesce in spirit and humour with people whose conversation at least is wholly irreligious, an impatience under the crosses

of my daily and domestic history, and a grievous dereliction from the meekness of wisdom when soured by the perversities of my own household. Perhaps somewhat too light and familiar with my visiters; had a slight mortification in consequence of pushing my attentions to an injudicious excess. O my God, suffer me not to fall away from earnestness. Find 'Romaine' delightful at certain places.

"*30th.*—No study after supper. Four gentlemen at breakfast. Had the usual family worship, which Miss L—— thought of great importance to the students who were admitted to it. In the forenoon was made acquainted with the resolute opposition of Dr. H. to our mode of collecting for the Missionary Society, and which might come to exercise my charity and firmness and wisdom in future. May God assist me in this and every other controversy on the side of truth and righteousness. Perhaps more successful in my morning exercise: satisfied with an exhortation I gave to my girls. Have still to record a dreary absence of God and of the Spirit from my soul. The want is, that I do not feel its dreariness, I live in comfort without God, and can enjoy humour and conversation with ungodly people. There is no such thing as laying a charge at any time through the day upon my conscience; an act of self-recollection, that now I am in the presence of God, and I must not forget that I am His servant. Might not this be a good expedient, and when doing so if I vent forth my aspirations for present grace, will not this be a combination of watchfulness with prayer? O my God, enable me to spread a savour of divine things around me. Let my life be a perpetual testimony for God.

"*July 1st.*—A little better this morning in my devotional exercises, and did recur more to the things of God and Christ through the day, but have daily experience of my carnality and of my need of keeping in memory the truths by which I

am saved. If the element in which I naturally breathe be not one of antigodliness, it is at least one of ungodliness. Let me try the expedient of habitual and hourly recurrence to sacred things as a defence against the engrossing spirit of my present pursuits. On the whole I am overdoing study. But let my morning before breakfast be consecrated to intercourse with God. It is, after all, by conforming to an economy of grace, and not of works, that one attains to life and to fruitfulness in all holy obedience.

" Find my habitual frame to be that of ungodliness. I am far from God, but I do find along with this the absence from my thoughts of Christ through whom I was brought near. O God, give me to experience the power of the gospel pardon in causing me both to come and to keep nigh. Felt not the positive force of the second law in my heart when with my colleagues. A good deal of discussion and of right arrangement about Degrees. It is my prayer that self may be denied, that the cross may be taken up daily, that I may live a devoted servant of Him by whose blood I am purchased. I desire an increased faith in its efficacy.

" 3*d*, *Sunday*.—Rose at seven, after an hour of reading at the ' Life of Philip Henry.' This at present my Sunday book. After an hour of devotion and devotional reading, prepared for my Sabbath-school, and completed the preparation by various efforts through the day. Heard Dr. Haldane, I trust with impression, in the forenoon, and Dr. Buist in the afternoon.—O God, enable me to keep my feet when I go to Thy house. It requires a watch upon myself to keep my thoughts from wandering. Dr. L. drank tea. It were an exercise of the second law to call for its operation when he or any one else appears. Somewhat shocked at the notions which I was told of respecting the adequate treatment by her friends of a dying young lady in town. Had an interesting transaction with

little Grace. I should have mentioned that I prescribe tasks to my children which I hear at five, and that my Sabbath-school meets at six and lasts till eight.

"*4th.*—Employed this day in drawing up a defence of our method of collection for the Missionary Society, which I read in the evening to the Committee, and which they request shall be printed.* My morning devotions were carried on pleasantly, but when I look back to the day I may well say, what has been their power? It is quite melancholy to observe my utter destitution of sacred feeling through the hours of common life. Is there no way by which I can keep up communion with God all the day long? Let me do it by duties. O God, assist me. Spoke with specific earnestness to Mr. Duncan in the reading-room, but no recurrence of it afterwards when I walked with him and Mrs. Chalmers; let me recur to it by myself. At dinner was very irritable and impatient with my children; let me be firm but gentle in my family discipline. Erred too in giving way to much irritableness with Mr. Duncan about college matters; let this remind me to be on my guard when these are afterwards referred to.

"*5th.*—Mr. Dwight, son to the President, called on the moment of our going off to Lathallan; asked him to remain in St. Andrews while Mrs. Chalmers and I went there in a gig; glad to acquit ourselves of this incumbent attention. Perhaps a little more strenuous and successful this day, but feel that I live as if in exile from God, and in a dry and thirsty land where no water is. Erred in levity with Mr. Duncan in our reading-room; more kind and hospitable to Mr. Dwight than formerly on a similar occasion; marvellously little of God when moving through His delicious air upon our ride and in the midst of His unnumbered beauties. Oh that I could associate with every thing the first great Cause of all things; absolutely

* See Appendix A.

nothing of the serious or the sacred in me when sitting amongst eighteen immortals in the evening. What an exclusion of religion from this world's companies! Give me wisdom and principle, O God. Mr. Dwight on the whole interesting: I was much struck with his description of his visits to his people in America. Oh, let me redeem the time, and give myself to the work of an entire and spiritual Christianity!

"*6th.*—Better I trust all this day; took the more objective view in the morning, and let me never lose my hold of it. My mother and aunt came up from Anster in a chaise. My poor mother had fallen in Anster, and I was affected by the swelling that in consequence arose in her forehead and other marks. O my God, pardon all my peculiarities of temper towards her. Give me to honour her during the remainder of her days. Continue to her the blessings of faith and peace and piety. Speak powerfully of this world's worthlessness to my aunt; and, oh guide me to the right Christian way of holding intercourse with all my friends.

"*7th.*—Have certainly a calmness and comfort in my morning exercises which I wont not to have; my physical state is pleasant, and this is promoted by bathing occasionally; a sort of general sensation of piety which I wont not to have, and certainly my more deliberate and lengthened morning exercise contributes thereunto; I however do lose my hold, and that often. On going into company I should have a preventive and preparatory mental exercise. Should I ever be exposed to annoyance from Dr. B., (and I have been threatened therewith,) let patience have its perfect work; should maintain this quality in my family, whereas I transgressed it on perceiving the disorderly state of A.'s and E.'s room. I spoke a little more to Mr. Duncan. O my God, direct me aright, and set my heart upon the enterprise of doing him a Christian good.

"*8th.*—Still in a state of spiritual exile—very pleasant,

however, and had powerful impressions too in my morning exercise;—why not a more frequent recurrence to its topics through the day? Erred in my walk with Mr. Duncan, and vented forth outrageous expressions about college matters. Let me be guarded; and, oh for love to others! Was visited at my devotions with the vast importance of the second law and of its satisfactory evidence as to our love of God. I would give a body and a reality to our religion.

"*Sunday*, 10*th*.—Preached all day for Mr. Watson.

"11*th*.—Rose at half-past seven; little of godly exercise. Breakfasted at Pitlethie, studied in Leuchars manse; made a short call on the schoolmaster; came in at night—had some communings of a heavenward nature on the road.

"12*th*.—Feel a heaviness and incapacity; fear that my power both of conception and of language are forsaking me. I pray for deliverance from all earthly ambition, and that I may have grace to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness. Surely, in the absence of prosperous literature, there is enough to fill the heart in the preparations of eternity, and when retired from the general world there is enough to stimulate in the Christianization of those around us, and let me not forget that every human being presents a call for the exercise of right principle. O my God, teach me what the work of the Lord is, and give me to be steadfast and immovable, always abounding in it.

"13*th*.—Give me wisdom among those who are without, and keep alive in me a sense of eternal things. Always read 'Romaine' with great and ready coalescence. Oh, let me experimentally realize the effects of that trust which he recommends for sanctification as well as righteousness.

"14*th*.—Rose before eight. I had a full modicum of composition, with the quality of which, however, I am not at all satisfied. The subject too engrosses me, so as to make me feel

that my 'Political Economy' is a thorn. Direct me, O God. Had pleasure, as I always have, in 'Romaine,' and long for the freeness of an evangelical obedience. Give me sight of Thy mercy in Christ, O God, and let me steadfastly and at all times look thereunto.

"15*th*.—Delighted more and more with 'Romaine,' particularly with his remarks on free obedience, or the service of love, or the evangelical service which is rendered in the spirit of adoption; but I let slip the thoughts which comfort as well as those which stimulate. I pray for Thy Spirit to bring and keep things in my remembrance, O God. I also have been asking what is the work of the Lord, in which I ought to be steadfast and immovable. An obvious reply is that of laying myself out for the salvation of myself and others; and what a field is around me in my children, household, friends, neighbours, and all who come within reach of my influence! I feel the engrossing influence of my studies, and I pray for direction in them.

"16*th*.—Still the same glow of delight with 'Romaine,' but the same dissipation thereof and of all seriousness amongst the occupations of study and of society. What an argument for the Sabbath, for a day set apart to God's peculiar work, seeing that throughout the vast majority of the six days on which we do our work, we forget Him altogether. But should it be so? Should not this tendency be prayed against till it is prevailed over? Should not life be a perpetual Sabbath? Is there no way of impregnating all work with godliness? and is not the Lord's work that in which we should always be abounding?—O God, teach me this way and this work. Erred in inattention to Dr. B., of whom I am too impatient; perhaps, too, in pertinacity at the college meeting. But I must stand up for what is right, though let me do it with meekness. Erred somewhat in the general levity of my converse with Mr. Duncan, whom I love so much in the flesh. I had one serious

remonstrance with him, however, and was made to feel the difficulties of making an effectual impression upon him. O my God, aid me in this. Forbid that so much intercourse with him should be all in vain; nay, perhaps to my condemnation. Give me wisdom, but withal earnestness and perseverance. Went to bed at twelve.

"*Sunday*, 17*th*.—This on the whole a prosperous day. Felt the charm of Sabbath, although perhaps too much taken up with Sabbath *business* to the exclusion of meditation and prayer. Read the Sermon on the death of Mr. and Mrs. Philip Henry. Went to bed at eleven. I need more of unction in my Sabbath-school, and a more thorough earnestness about the conversion of souls. Had some delicious and animating retirement in the evening when I thought I could descry what is meant by the glorious liberty of the children of God.—Let my regards be more cast henceforth on the things to be believed, and less on the act or manner of believing.

"19*th*.—Must aim at the sense of a free pardon, and at living in the light of it. What could I do, if God did not justify the ungodly? I shall need wisdom among my colleagues. I feel the secularizing effect of worldly company, and besides am rather overwrought with study; it distances me too much from my family.—Enable me, O God, to be effective in the work of promoting their Christianity.

"20*th*.—I enjoyed very much Dr. Thomson's garden, and such a view as I could have of the other gardens in that part of the town. I feared that I erred with Miss L. to-night in my vehemence about the exactions of attention on the part of Mrs. ——. I see that by a law of our sentient nature love cannot be bidden, and whenever attentions are demanded I do feel a very strong repugnance, so that it is working against a moral impossibility to attempt the affection; and without the affection I feel it very painful to be working at the required attentions in the spirit

of bondage. But let me be silent on these occasions; aim at charity and never be diverted from the meekness of wisdom. The accustomed interest and warmth felt in the morning, and then followed up by a general character of ungodliness all day; had a glow of heavenliness at night. The doctrine of free grace would overcome all, if habitually present to the mind.

"21*st*.—Mrs. Chalmers and I both feel very much the pressure of the society that crowds about us, though we do not well know how to help ourselves. It is a very indiscriminate society, too. We must not, however, forget the special direction of being given to hospitality, and the more general one of taking up the cross daily. The misery is that I do not turn it to Christian account. Have little or no affection for souls; and though I have the daily strengthening conviction that it is due to the non-entertainment of the free grace of the gospel, I still feel day after day a rooted and obstinate ungodliness.—Let me admit and cherish that theme which can alone turn it away from my heart, even a simple faith in the offered mercy of the New Testament. We keep this habitually away from our thoughts; and this very day, though my text was, 'Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not sin,' yet neither in comfort nor conception was it once present with me. I was made to see the misery of deviation from pure correctness of conduct, and the peace and independence of its opposite. Still breathe with delight in the element of godly books, and do fondly hope that this savour, at one time wholly unfelt by me, argues well for my regeneration.

"22*d*.—A University-meeting about a Degree. Felt a distaste at the indelicacy of avarice in an acquaintance, but should not have spoken of it afterwards. Called on Miss H., and succeeded in introducing some religious conversation. Visited the sick woman in the East Knowe Wynd. Dined in Dr. Jackson's; far too impatient at the violation by others of

the equities of conversation; whereas I should scrupulously observe them myself, and bear with the violations of others.

"*Sunday, 24th.*—Rose about nine; went immediately to the composition of my sermon. Could not attend church in the forenoon; preached in the afternoon. Have reason to question myself seriously as to my spirit in regard to all public services. Do I seek the glory of God? Have I no secret longings after my own glory? Have I greater desire to ascertain the good I have done to souls, or the good I may have done to my own reputation? Do I not feel the impression of the splendid auditory that comes to hear me?—Let me set myself in good earnest to quell this humiliating affection. O my God, let me lie low, and know what it is to be divested of self.

"*25th.*—I have to record this day, that I am not mortified to the love of praise. I did feel an anxiety that Miss L. should speak of the sermon of yesterday when we walked. I did feel interested and gratified when she did speak. Still more, I did feel the gratification of Mr. Duncan's compliments, and of the yet fuller testimonies which were reported to me in the evening; and I do much fear, or rather I certainly know, that I feel a complacency in all this,—and what if it be not superior to the pleasure I should feel in having been the instrument of a saving and spiritual impression? This is so distinct a preference of my own glory to that of God's, so obvious a preaching of self instead of the Saviour, so glaring a preference of the wisdom of words to the simplicity which is in the cross of Christ, that my carnal tendencies in regard to this matter should be the subject of my strictest vigilance and severest castigation.

"Do not speak enough in society of these things. I am complained of on that account. O God, keep me from the guilt of denying Christ by my silence.

"*26th.*—Give me to feel my duty to St. Andrews; let me not be ashamed or afraid.

"*29th.*—The extreme heat of the weather has made me very bilious, and thrown me sadly aback in regard to composition. I have the feeling that it hazards character greatly to signalize my first authorship as a professor by a hasty and imperfect work, and besides I have got myself involved in a subject that I feel to be unwieldy, and for which my readers are unprepared till I have delivered myself on the general principles of political economy. I feel strongly inclined in these circumstances to defer my present work, and to take myself to one of a more doctrinal and abstract nature in the meantime. In my incapacity for exertion I have begun to read the 'Antiquary.'

"*30th.*—Helpless with bile. More resolved on the plan of yesterday, and with this view took up 'Ricardo' with a view to the thorough examination of his principles. I certainly have overdriven my studies of late, to the great detriment both of my personal and family religion. My wish is, to deliver myself in a complete way of my political economy, and then to give all my strength to theology. O my God, let me seek first Thy kingdom and Thy righteousness; let not my order of study be a reversal of this holy commandment of my Saviour. May I seek Thy glory, and give myself most assiduously to the cultivation of my heart and of my religious habits. O my God, enable me to subserve every speculation of mine to the interest and the advancement of our Redeemer's kingdom. If Thy presence go not with me, take me not hence. I would trust in God, I would lean not to mine own understanding.

"*Sunday*, 31*st.*—So bilious that I did not go to church. Let me not however lapse into a negligence in this respect, but follow the example of good Philip Henry. I finished this day his 'Life,' and began to that of 'Bernard Gilpin.' Prepared for my Sabbath-school, where two ladies I did not know attended. Had to dismiss one of the scholars for bad behaviour. Did not give their wonted tasks to my own children.—Let me, O

God, rule over them with wisdom and gravity, and bring them up in Thy fear. Aid me with Thy counsel in this; and, O my God, give me a living faith in those truths which are unto salvation.

"Had my mind directed occasionally to my purposes of future study. O my God, counsel me aright. Let my adoption of Political Economy, if Thou indeed permittest it, set me to the vigilance of one who is fearful of and resolved in the strength of Thy grace against all secular contamination.

"Was called out to Betty Miller, who was conceived to be dying. This was between ten and eleven at night.

"O my God, preserve upon my spirit an unction from Thy sanctuary. Give me spiritual wisdom, and let me grow every day in the knowledge and experience of divine things.

"*August* 1*st.*—A longer and better morning of devotion than usual. Find a little meditation previous to prayer highly useful. O God, bring me forward in this exercise, in which I am capitally defective, and which is fitted to give a more heavenly and spiritual frame than any other direct service whatever,—truly when I prosper in this work I shall have prospered in the heart-work of Christianity. O my God, therefore help me.

"Engaged in writing and preparing for the Missionary Meeting; finished the paper regarding our weekly contributions; called for Miss Hutchison, but found her at dinner; walked on the links by myself; then began in good earnest Ricardo's work on 'Political Economy,' comparing him with 'Malthus' and others as I go along. Miss Mowat at tea and supper. A brilliant assemblage contrary to expectation at our Missionary Meeting; I must really prepare for it.

"2*d.*—Rose between seven and eight; began to write my lectures for St. John's Chapel, on the 9th chapter of the Romans.

"*4th.*—Very much impressed with the rapidity of time in consequence of a thought suggested by this being the marriage day. I desire, O God, to be effectually awakened now to make the decisive movement, now to give up all for eternity. Oh! let the very circumstance of my being engaged with political economy make me the more watchful against the encroachments of earthliness. My God, I turn to Thee, and pray that Thy Spirit may be poured forth. Disenchant me from the vanities of time, and, oh enable me to live by the powers of a coming world!

"*5th.*—Had certainly on the whole a pleasurable day, with some gleams of spiritual light. Oh that God would uphold me in the walk and the way everlasting! Find the consideration of the shortness of life of use to me. Had an exercise in the evening of religious contemplation, and this should be studiously observed. All is little enough to make head against the carnality of nature. Let me not leave my hold of Christ and His righteousness, and possess myself of the belief of the great love wherewith God hath loved the world.

"*6th.*—Pleasurable certainly, and with a mixture too of devotion and thought on sacred things. The difficulties of 'Ricardo' engross me too much; and while I still feel called upon to prosecute political economy, I must beware of suffering it to be a thorn. Rather let me be now more on my guard than ever against the encroachments of a worldly spirit; and lest I should have indulged myself by the adoption of this as a study, let me be all the more jealous of myself, and that with a godly jealousy. Be Thou, O God, ever in my heart, and let Thy glory be the principle of all my doings.

"*8th.*—Delighted after tea with the appearance of Mr. Gilfillan, a man of great humour, but withal of piety and spiritual tenderness, a dear friend, of whose labours in Glasgow and letters from South America, I have the most interesting re-

membrance. He and Miss Collier are now with us. I mean to exercise him well on the subject of exchange, wherewith he is practically conversant. A very pleasant glow of kindly recollection all evening.

"10*th.*—A full house at present: I take my full proportion of study notwithstanding. Certainly not alive habitually enough to a sense of God; not jealous of myself; not working out my salvation with fear and trembling; not keeping my heart in the love of God; not walking as a stranger and a pilgrim upon earth. I desire to do all these things. Holy Father! Thou seest me to be vile, yet I would lay hold of Christ as a sanctifier.

"12*th.*—Much jocularity between Mr. Gilfillan and the ladies in reference to the market. I have remitted the reading of 'Ricardo' till my present sermon is completed. It turns out to have a text that I had already published on.*

"*Sunday* 14*th.*—Heavy and heartless all day. Feel more than ever the uncongeniality of St. Andrews.

"16*th.*—An excursion to Dundee under the management of Mr. Gilfillan. I hope that amid all the fluctuations of my heart and fancy, I am adhering to God in Christ, but, oh what sad deviations of spirit from Him!

"17*th.*—Began the composition of a new sermon on 1 Peter i. 17. Trust that I have made some spiritual progress this day. My desire is to prosecute with all diligence the work of sanctification, to make an hourly business of it, and to work for the light and manifestation of the gospel. I am particularly destitute of charity: have made many discoveries of my own selfishness. I pray to be delivered from vanity, and that

* On comparing the two sermons, the one written in forgetfulness that the other had been previously composed and published, they were found not in thought only, but in language also, to be almost exact copies of one another—a curious instance of the fixture of his phraseology.

more especially in the preaching of Christ I may do it with simplicity and earnestness.

"19*th*.—A quiet day at home. I feel heaviness, and there mingles with it a certain sense and feeling of decay, as if my imagination was less vivid, a haze overspreading all the objects of my contemplation, and far less both of interest, and I fear of power, whether in the walks of pathos or fancy, or even intellect. A fine topic this for religious exercise. Let me cultivate a closer fellowship with God, and be weaned from my own glory. O Heavenly Father! fill me with the desire of living altogether to thine; extinguish vanity, and the sinful lust of human applause.

"30*th*.—Fatigued with my late exertions, yet began a sermon and made tolerable progress in it on Jeremiah vi. 16.* Have remitted for a little my economical reading, but am more and more convinced of the necessity of great and systematic exertion. Visited with melancholy thoughts when I dwell on the uncongeniality of my present neighbourhood, on the prospect of next winter, on the fancied decay of my talents, on the decline of my circumstances, (my regular income not being adequate,) and on the review of my splendid correspondence a few years ago. Against all this I desire to be fortified by the sublimer hopes and associations of eternity. I desire, O God, to lift my thoughts to Thee, and to have my conversation in heaven. Do give me direction,—I pray for counsel. I am sorry in having so vastly little of Christian talk: Guide me in this, O God. A certain feeling of gravitation in my mind towards its one object, creating a darkness of sensibility to all others. A very great want of congenial society.

"31*st*.—Heavy till Mr. Collins came. Much interested in his visit, and desire to be humbled that I find not an ever present God enough for me. Let me at the same time thank

* See *Works*, vol. xi. p. 125.

Him for all His creatures. Mr. C. has enlivened my prospects as to my future condition. But why should I lose faith?—O my God, guide me through my approaching difficulties as to college matters. Let me not suffer this visit of Mr. Collins to pass away without spiritual benefit. Much interested by what he relates to me of Foster's complaints of himself. There seems a hebetude with him too.

"*September 5th.*—I pray God to sanctify me wholly. In the evening I composed a little, and desire to keep steadfast in this exercise. I have suspended my reading for some time, but must look onward to greater works than any I have yet composed. But, O God, may I remember that one thing is needful.*

"*November 2d.*—The recent impression of Foster's 'Preface to Doddridge' will I trust not speedily subside. Visited in the morning with pretty strong feelings on the subject of my eternity. I desire, O God, to live by the powers of a coming world.

"*4th.*—Give me to have life in Christ, and to live to Him by whom it is that I live.

"*Sunday, 6th.*—Have begun 'Leighton on Peter.' Must give myself more to the work of meditation—to the exercises of spiritual-mindedness. Declined teaching my Sabbath-school this night because of heaviness and drowsiness. Must struggle against my tendencies to sloth, and make a strong effort to recover the activities of my nature.

"*9th.*—Began this day to my preparation of a third volume to the 'Christian and Civic Economy' for the press.

"*12th.*—I feel colded to St. Andrews by the high church spirit which pervades it. This, combined with the falling off

* On the 7th September Dr. Chalmers went to Glasgow, residing with his family at Blochairn till the close of the following month. On the 22d September he preached the sermon and took part in the procession connected with laying the foundation of a monument to John Knox.—See *Memoir of Dr. Macgill*, p. 291.

in the number of my students, leads me to seek for resources more within myself, and I fondly hope that it may shut me up into more abundant and useful authorship.

"*Sunday* 13*th*.—A better Sabbath than I have had for a long time, even though I did attend the College Church all day. Much benefited by 'Owen on Spiritual Mindedness;' I am also reading 'Leighton on Peter.' Resumed my Sabbath-school. Mr. Fox and Mr. Urquhart drank tea and supped with me. I desire to grow in a capacity for thinking of spiritual things.—Aid me, O God, in my attempts at communion with Thyself, and enable me to convert Thy Sabbaths into the instruments of preparation for my eternal rest in the mansions of sacredness.

"21*st*.—Mr. Duncan called, and I erred by the unbridled utterance of my unbridled resentments on the subject of college affairs. I must restrain myself. I should be still and know that God reigneth. The wrath of man worketh not His righteousness.—O my God, forgive this bitterness, and give me the meekness of wisdom. Let me not be fretful or anxious because of evil-doers. I want the union of firmness and charity. Let me not give way to the fear of man which is a snare.

"*Sunday*, 27*th*.—My exercises sadly interrupted this day by the constant visitations of indignancy on the reflection of college matters. This exceedingly wrong. There is not a greater foe to spirituality than wrath; and even wrath in a righteous cause distempers the heart. Let me profit by the indications of this day. O my God, give me to hush these broodings of a too effervescing spirit. Pity and pardon me. Mr. Urquhart supped.

"28*th*.—Dull and dispirited all day—the fruit, I verily believe, of my agitation of spirit. I suddenly bethought myself of sending to Dr. Hunter for the Minutes, and I find that nothing will more effectually cure me of my broodings than

explicit communications with my fellows. O my God, deliver me from all rancour and much irritableness, and so delivered may Thy countenance look out upon me in the light of a powerful yet pleasing manifestation.

"29*th.*—Called on Dr. Hunter anent college matters, and find how much better it is to face men than to brood in secret over the unexplained delicacies which are betwixt us.

"*December* 3*d.*—Dined with Dr. Nicoll. Must resist even kindness when it would lead me astray.

"4*th.*—At the college meeting made known my rejection of the Candlemas dividend.

"10*th.*—Met with the professors this day at one of their ordinary meetings, and made an interim adjustment with them in regard to my Candlemas dividend.

"*Sunday,* 11*th.*—A delightful evening with my more advanced student class.

"17*th.*—Two meetings—a college and a university one—in both of which the business was painfully interesting. I suffer myself to be too much engrossed with them when away from the scenes of operation. O my God, dispossess every undue affection by means of the growth of that affection in my heart which is supremely due.

"14*th.*—O my God, give me a realizing sense of Thyself. Be no longer a wilderness or a weariness to me. Thou peopledst this region of sense with all its interests. Thou comprisedst then this whole interest and variety in Thine own mind. O Lord, I would follow after Thee, I would follow on to know Thee.

"*January* 8*th,* 1826, *Sunday.*—Heard Mr. Menzies in the forenoon, and Mr. Campbell afternoon. The latter vigorous, and with a very firm staple of composition. O my God, do Thou evangelize the rising talents of our Church.

"9*th.*—Met Dr. Nicoll in the Library, and am more and

more confirmed in the impression, that there is nothing to be made towards the reform of the college by conversation with him.

"12*th.*—Had a long conversation afterwards with Mr. Duncan about college matters. Err in impetuosity. Dislike excessively the whole spirit of my colleagues anent this matter of the division; but wander sadly from God, and fail in my attempts at holding habitually upon Him.

"14*th.*—Thronged with college and university meetings. Can imagine a rising storm. O my God, may I quit myself like a man, and yet do all my things with charity.

"*Sunday*, 15*th.*—Let me dedicate the whole of Sabbath to God, and not give myself, as I did to-day, to the discussion of college matters with Mr. Duncan.

"16*th.*—Mr. Duncan supped. Began the composition of my Preface. Perhaps am on the eve of a more habitual godliness, but certainly it does not appear either in my domestic or social intercourse. Quicken and direct me, O God.

"19*th.*—About finishing my third volume of 'Christian and Civic Economy.'

"26*th.*—Busy with a sermon on Cruelty to Animals.

"*February* 2*d.*—Attended Mr. Lothian's week-night service,* and mean to continue it. Had a walk with Mr. M'Vicar.† Wrote Mr. Duncan anent the distressing business of our college affairs.

"11*th.*—College and university meetings. Let me be firm and temperate withal. O my God, suffer not the triumph of wrong to disturb me away from the triumph of the gospel. I owe much gratitude to the professors here for having chosen me, and I should not forget this in the heat of opposition.

"18*th.*—A most stormy college meeting on the subject of

* The Rev. Mr. Lothian of the Independent Church at St. Andrews, on whose ministry Mrs. Chalmers and part of her family frequently attended.

† The Rev. Mr. M'Vicar, now of Ceylon, who at this time taught a class of Natural History in St. Andrews, which Dr. Chalmers regularly attended, taking notes like any other student, and being greatly interested in the lectures.

the 'Star.' I dined with Mr. Duncan. A party of students drank tea with me, and Mr. Craik supped.

"21*st.*—Two college meetings. The whole previous time spent by me in great anxiety, and yet, as far as it has gone, I never felt so much the power of truth over a body unanimously against me; nor had I ever such delightful experience, and in a way quite simple though decided, of a triumph. But the matter is not yet ended; and, O Father in heaven! enable me to blend charity with firmness, and to commit all my ways unto Thee that they may be aright ordered.

"22*d.*—A sad reverse from yesterday. There was an attempt at a compromise, which failed—and with some dread ebullitions of rage from my adversaries. I believe that I must act calmly and firmly, and withal charitably, aloof from them. We cannot, I fear, amalgamate, and all discussion is vain. What I need, O God, are courage, conduct, and withal the kindly and pacific virtues of the gospel. O direct me, Almighty Father. Let me be still and know that Thou art God. I erred in my own temper; and I pray for the spirit of forgiveness and forbearance under every provocation.

"*March* 1*st.*—I have this day sent my dissent from the published act of our college to the newspaper, and am more at rest since the decisive step has been taken. And now, O God, give me calmness and charity.

"*Sunday*, 5*th.*—Preached in the High Church;* very crowded.

"7*th.*—A college meeting about accounts, and an extremely unpleasant one, in regard to the cool and contemptuous insolence of one member towards me, whose former injustice ought to have abashed him. Things are fast working towards a crisis in regard to the Candlemas dividend. The other question is still in a state of menace and uncertainty in regard to the part

* The High Church at Edinburgh, in which the sermon on Cruelty to Animals was preached.—See *Works*, vol. xi. p. 249.

which my adversaries shall take in it. Meanwhile, my whole feeling in regard to the college is of a most unpleasant nature. I am heavy and engrossed thereanent. O my God, let it not altogether unspiritualize me.

"8*th*.—Enable me, O God, to consider Him who endured the contradiction of sinners, lest I be weary and faint in my mind. O loose me from the bonds of sin and selfishness. I want that Thy glory should have all the practical force of an object of desire and pursuit with me. In a state of depression all day, arising partly from fatigue, and partly from the feeling of that uncongenial atmosphere by which I am surrounded.

"16*th*.—Feel sober and somewhat depressed in regard to college matters, and have very great reason for casting this and all other cares upon God.—Do, Almighty Father! keep me in Thy love and fear all the day long. Let me die unto the world. Let me live unto Him who made the world.—I am printing a small paper on the Abolition of Slavery, and perhaps rash in doing so.

"17*th*.—Entered this day on my forty-seventh year. I desire to live henceforth unto God. Oh guide me in the way of true wisdom! Suffer not the distractions of an evil world to take off my heart from Thyself. Give me the life and peace of those who are spiritually minded, and may I give up all for eternity.

"21*st*.—Was bustled with the work of correcting proof-sheets and a little thrown agog by the news from Glasgow of the success of my sermon. Have also thrown off a few thoughts on the Abolition of Slavery.*

"31*st*.—Have begun this morning to read Howe's 'Redeemer's Tears,' having finished 'Owen on Spiritual Mindedness.' O my God, give me the life and power of those who have made this high attainment.

* See *Works*, vol. xii. p. 397

"*April* 10*th.*—I find that controversy is sorely against the soul. Oh that I was rightly directed!

"11*th.*—Made frequent visits to the operations at the Cathedral.

"18*th.*—Walked with Professor Wallace. Dined in Mr. Duncan's. Heard of Lady Powerscourt and Mr. Gordon's arrival. Waited on them at the inn, and brought them to our house, where we spent a very interesting evening. O God, surround me with that Christian society which Thou knowest I need. Clear away all my perplexities, and give me to cast on Thee all my confidence.

"19*th.*—I feel a stricture upon my spiritual faculties which I ascribe to the want of single-heartedness. There are idols which I must cast away. There are things which I must do ere I can experience the light and the enlargement of a devoted Augustine. O my God, aid me for Christ's sake.

"*May 7th, Sunday.*—Officiated in taking the charge of Hope Park Chapel sacrament, Edinburgh.

"*June* 29*th.*—An invitation from Dr. Jackson to breakfast with Professor Malthus. He came with the Bruces of Grangemuir, under whose guidance he was. Mrs. Malthus and two of his friends along with him. He made explanations to me about his not knowing that I was in St. Andrews at present. This was so far well; but considering that I was his correspondent, and had been his visiter, I was not altogether pleased. The tone of our intercourse was altogether frank, natural, and easy. Yet I have to record a dependence upon man, and upon man's regard, which gives me still more convincing views of my spiritual destitution than before. O Heavenly Father! guide and sanctify all my doings for Christ's sake. Amen.

"*July* 4*th.*—Mr. Duncan supped. A prosperous day rather; but a good deal of intense and as yet unsatisfying thought on a position of 'Ricardo.'

"*August 26th.*—Finished a manifesto on the subject of Dr. Thomas Brown's monument.

"*Sunday, October 1st.*—Heard Dr. Haldane in the forenoon, and Dr. Buist in the afternoon. Fasted somewhat this day, and, in obedience to Baxter, had a self-examination after dinner. It lasted an hour and a half. I tried myself by John i. 12; Phil. iii. 3; Rom. viii. 9, 16; Gal. v. 22-24; 2 Cor. v. 17; 1 Peter ii. 7; and find myself miserably wanting, particularly in regard to the spiritual interests of my own children, wife, and other friends. I am destitute of that spirit which prompted Christ to seek and to save that which is lost, of His compassionate zeal for the souls of men, of the patience wherewith He endured the contradiction of sinners *against Himself*, and altogether of love either to God or men. Old things are not wholly passed away: the love of literature for *itself*, and the love of literary distinction, have not passed away. Let me love literature as one of those creatures of God which is not to be refused, but received with thanksgiving. Let me desire literary distinction—but let my desire for it be altogether that I may add to my Christian usefulness, and promote the glory of God;—then, even with these I would be a new creature. The impression of my defects is not such as to overwhelm me, but to stimulate. Objective Christianity mixed its influence with the examination. The defects of my subjective should just lead me to cling faster to the objective; and I did feel a peace when I tried myself by the verse, that to them who believe He is precious. I was moved even to tears by a sense of my deficiencies; and, O God, let my peace be that of faith and not of carnality. Let it be my incessant endeavour to heighten the characters of grace within, and then self-examination will become easier and more encouraging. Let me observe the temperance of this day, and that will make me more vigorous and unclouded in all my mental exercises."

CHAPTER VII.

COLLEGE CONTROVERSIES—ENFORCEMENT OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE UPON THE STUDENTS—MANAGEMENT OF THE COLLEGE FUNDS—LETTER TO THE ROYAL COMMISSIONERS.

In the autumn of 1824 Dr. Nicoll resigned the living of St. Leonard, one of the city parishes of St. Andrews, which he had held in conjunction with the Principality of the United College. By ancient law and usage the students of the United College were obliged to give regular attendance on the ordinary Sabbath services in St. Leonard's Church. The vast importance of a right appointment to such a vacancy was so strongly felt by Dr. Chalmers that—what he had never ventured to do before—he forwarded an earnest remonstrance to Lord Melville, then Chancellor of the University, in whose hands the patronage of the living was understood to be virtually vested.* This remonstrance was unheeded. A professor, whose hands were already full of his own proper work, and who was otherwise unacceptable, received the presentation. The session which immediately succeeded this appointment brought to St. Andrews a large number of "talented and aspiring young men, accustomed to the methods of other universities, and who along with their ardour in the pursuit of literary and scientific instruction, had a decided predilection for Sabbath services of deep and earnest piety." Unaccustomed

* See Appendix B.

at the other universities to have any restraint imposed upon them as to Sabbath attendance, they felt the hardship of the St. Andrews regulation. A sense of dissatisfaction spread among the students, and a petition was at last presented by them to the Senatus, praying to be relieved from compulsory attendance in St. Leonard's Church. Dr. Chalmers took no part either in originating or supporting this petition. He thought that some relief should be afforded to those whose conscientious convictions or religious feelings were thwarted by the rigorous enforcement of the existing law; but he did not think that it would be right to yield to the mere wish or choice of youths, many of whom were of very immature age. When the Senatus, however, not only peremptorily refused the prayer of the students themselves, but refused to concede to the expressed desire of their parents, he warmly espoused the students' cause, "both acts being alike revolting to him—that by which the Chancellor forced a minister upon the College, and that by which the College forced an attendance upon the minister." He stood alone among his brother professors, and his position was all the more painful as one of them was the very person from attendance upon whose ministry the students were craving relief. Nevertheless he stood forward unflinchingly to vindicate what seemed to him the natural right of the parent to direct and control the religious education of his children. To that right the University authorities had already made a large concession. Originally, when almost the whole Scottish community were of one faith and form of worship, there was comparatively no hardship in the law which required from students attendance at church. When dissent, however, became a large and growing interest in the country, the other universities of Scotland met it in a spirit of liberality, and by relieving their *alumni* from all compulsion as to church attendance, threw their classes open to all sections of the community. In St. Andrews the old law was not abro-

gated, but it was so far relaxed that a dispensation from attendance on the College Church was given to all students who had been educated as Dissenters. Dr. Chalmers thought that the spirit of this relaxation should have led the college to defer to the expressed wishes of parents within, as well as of parents without the Establishment. His colleagues thought otherwise; and after much argument, in which he had to sustain single-handed the whole brunt of the conflict, they refused to yield. Besides the painfulness of being thrown into opposition with those to whom he was much attached, and from whom he had received so many marks of confidence and esteem, Dr. Chalmers's conduct, both personally in allowing some of his family to attend a dissenting place of worship, and publicly in endeavouring to obtain a license for the students to worship wherever their parents pleased, was interpreted as extremely hostile to the interests of the Established Church; and as a very strong feeling of attachment to that Church existed at St. Andrews, a corresponding sentiment of irritation and offence was excited by the course which he thought it his duty to pursue. How very strongly he felt this appears from the extreme pains he took to vindicate himself when he appeared before the Royal Commissioners. When asked at the close of his first examination whether he had any other observations to offer—"I am desirous," he replied, "of saying one thing more upon the subject of the church attendance. I think that were the establishment of parish schools done away from the land, it would operate most prejudicially to the cause of popular education; and therefore I would do all I could to uphold the scholastic system of Scotland, so that it might not be brought to an overthrow. But I regard it as quite consistent with this principle, that if I happen to reside in a place where a subscription school offers better education for my children, to send them to that subscription school; and I hold that there is no hostility

in this to the established system of parish schools in Scotland. So far from hostility, I think it conduces to the strengthening and upholding of that system; because if, in point of fact, during the incumbency of the parish schoolmaster, a great number of respectable families, dissatisfied with him, have sent their children to subscription schoolmasters, this operates, by a wholesome reflex influence, on the exercise of the patronage—so that, at the termination of his incumbency, a more competent and qualified schoolmaster is chosen. I think that this consideration applies in all its parts to the case of parish churches. I think that if the Church Establishment of Scotland were overthrown, it would operate to the diminution, by nine-tenths, of the Christianity of our land; and yet, consistently with this principle, if I knew of any dissenting chapel where, in point of fact, the members of my family received a deeper, a more powerful, and a more practical impression upon their consciences than in the parish church, I should not feel myself guilty of schism though I recommended and encouraged the members of my family to go to that place where they found the ministration that was most calculated to do them good. And so far from this operating with prejudicial effect upon the Establishment, it just applies to that Establishment the force of a self-correcting principle, by acting with a wholesome reflex influence on the exercise of patronage. It creates a security, at the termination of the existing incumbency, for a better appointment than we had before, when the patronage is thus operated upon by the moral force which lies in the opinion of society. It is for this reason, I think, that the perfection of an ecclesiastical system in a land is first an Establishment, but that followed up by an ample and unrestricted toleration; for the Establishment is apt to be bereft both of its purity and of its power when it is not stimulated and operated upon by the rivalship of able, serious, and active Dissenters. And in

so far as the offence of schism has been ascribed to those parents who have applied for a dispensation from attendance upon the College Church, I would say, that a feeling of hostility to the Church of Scotland is not in their heads. It is just with them a conscientious desire to promote the religious interests of their families. The real schismatics are the schism makers, or they who, by means of a reckless and ill-advised patronage, are the emanating fountainheads of the whole mischief.

"One word more about the Church of Scotland and its interests. I have no veneration for the Church of Scotland merely *quasi* an Establishment, but I have the utmost veneration for it *quasi* an instrument of Christian good; and I do think, that with the means and resources of an Establishment, she can do more, and does more, for the religious interests of Scotland than is done by the activity of all the Dissenters put together. I think it a high object to uphold the Church of Scotland, but only because of its subserviency to the still higher object of upholding the Christianity of our land; and the measure which I now contend for would only have the effect of bringing the Church into a sort of temporary obscuration in this place, from which she emerges on the moment that we put forth the remedy that is in our hands."

A still more distressing difference between Dr. Chalmers and his colleagues arose in connexion with the administration of the College funds. When the two Colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard were united in 1747, the salaries of the professors were fixed by Act of Parliament. In the years 1769 and 1779, the principal and professors taking into account the increased expense of living, and the want of houses and a common table, which had originally been provided out of the College revenues, made fixed additions to their incomes, leaving an increasing surplus for the upholding of the College

fabric, and for other general expenses. From the year 1784 and downwards, another increase of salaries took place, effected however in a different mode. Instead of making a fixed addition, the professors sat in judgment each successive year upon the state of the finances, and after laying aside what they deemed sufficient for the current expenditure, they divided the whole remainder among themselves. As this division took place every year at Candlemas, it received the appropriate designation of the Candlemas dividend. During his first session at St. Andrews, Dr. Chalmers was not entitled to this part of the salary. In the course of the winter 1824-25, he was led to inquire into the history of this great yearly appropriation, whence nearly one-third of his whole income was to be derived. That inquiry conducted him unwillingly to the conclusion, that it was made without distinct and explicit legal authority; and that in making it, in becoming the arbitrators who fixed yearly the amount of their own salaries, the professors involved themselves in a very painful conflict between personal and public considerations—the more that they took to themselves the less being left for the general objects of the society. Dr. Chalmers brought his doubts and difficulties before the Senatus Academicus, desirous to persuade his colleagues that there was a want of a clear and well defined right to make these yearly appropriations, and that there were collateral evils arising from the practice which made it very desirable that some competent authority, extrinsic from the University, should be invited to interpose. His scruples were not shared in—in some instances they were resented as implying a charge of malversation. He had no alternative left but here also to take up his solitary position, and to keep and defend it as best he could. It was the most painful public duty he had ever been called to discharge, and the entries in his Journal abundantly testify at what cost of feeling it

was fulfilled. When the period came for payment of the first Candlemas dividend to which he was entitled, he declined accepting it. Difficulties arose as to the mode in which the sum offered him should be disposed of, which increased the perplexities of this most unfortunate affair. In the summer of 1826 he hailed with great delight the appointment by His Majesty of a Royal Commission for the Visitation of Colleges in Scotland, as affording the very opportunity he so much longed for, of having the matter settled by an authority unconnected with the College. His hopes were disappointed. New embarrassments arose connected with the very investigations upon which the Commissioners entered, till at last Dr. Chalmers left St. Andrews in 1828,—the question as to the authority under which these dividends were paid being still unsettled, and the whole amount due to him on their account, amounting to upwards of £700, remaining in the hands of the College. Six months after his removal to Edinburgh he received the following communication from the Commissioners:—

"COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH, *May* 19, 1829.

"The Commissioners took into consideration the state of the question brought before them by the Memorial and other communications of the Reverend Dr. Chalmers, relative to the application of the surplus funds of the University of St. Andrews; and understanding that, under feelings of scruple and delicacy, Dr. Chalmers had declined to receive for the period which he held the office of Professor of Moral Philosophy, the proportion of the sums allotted by the previous Resolutions of the College to that professorship, and that a large sum remained due to him on that account, are of opinion, and hereby resolve, that, under all the circumstances, there is no good reason why Dr. Chalmers, who has now ceased to be a Professor, should not receive and accept of the sums so due to him;

and they therefore instruct the Secretary to communicate a copy of this minute and resolution to the Principal of the United College, and to Dr. Chalmers."

Receiving this as the award of a competent authority, he accepted the sum that had been accumulating during the five years of his residence in St. Andrews, and thought no more of his old controversies with his colleagues till the publication of the Report of the Commissioners in 1831. That Report awakened his liveliest surprise and indignation. Without any mention of the part that he had taken, after canvassing the whole subject of the Candlemas dividend, it was announced as the grave and weighty conclusion of the Commissioners, that "the Principal and Professors appear to have made these appropriations without any authority." Dr. Chalmers was utterly at a loss how to reconcile such a conclusion with the resolution under which he had been induced to accept of the dividends. The publication of such a sentence by so high an authority, unaccompanied with any explanation as to the course which he individually had taken, placed him in a most embarrassing position before the public, and as another injustice was done him in the same Report, he resolved on a public vindication of himself. In a letter addressed to the Commissioners, and published in 1832, he gave a full narrative of both his St. Andrews controversies. It was not of his colleagues, but of the Commissioners, that in this pamphlet he complained, and his complaint was uttered in a tone of manly and unmeasured indignation. After stating briefly the facts of the case as to the Candlemas dividend, and quoting their own resolution of May 19, 1829, he proceeds to say,—"When receiving that money under your sanction, I did not understand that I had given up to you, in exchange for it, the power of aspersing my character and good name.

"I trust that I have made my own conduct perfectly distinct. The enigma of yours is now darker and more inscrutable than ever.

"I cannot divine what you think of these Candlemas appropriations. If you think them wrong, how is it that to me you have called the evil good? If you think them right, how is it that to your Sovereign you have called the good evil?

"Every public document must now speak the language, and bear upon it the semblance, of public virtue. No other language, no other aspect, would, in these days of vigilance and publicity, be at all tolerated. In this respect there has been a mighty change within these few years, almost within these few months. And can this be possibly the explanation? Is it by this I am helped to decipher the inconsistency between your award to myself, and your Report to His Majesty, on the subject of the St. Andrews appropriations? Did you, in May 1829, inveigle the only outstanding professor into the fellowship of these questionable doings, that you may now stand forth in the imposing character of reformers and censors upon us all? Or, was it that you felt the question of my unresolved difficulties to be an encumbrance, of which, ere the framing of a Report, you desired to rid yourselves? But when men, to escape from a position of awkwardness, once deviate from the manly and straightforward path, they will often plunge into a state of more inextricable awkwardness than before; nor can I imagine a more aggravated or helpless dilemma than that in which you are now placed. You tell me that I had no reason for my feelings of scruple and delicacy; and, when I compare this dispensation which you have given to myself, with your judgment, now before the Crown and the Commons, on the transactions of St. Andrews—when I bring your resolution of May 1829 into contiguity with your Report of some months afterwards, then, substantially taking your own expressions, I am given to

understand that I had no reason for scruple or delicacy in doing what is doubtful—no reason for scruple or delicacy in doing what I ought not—no reason for scruple or delicacy in unfixing what an Act of Parliament has expressly fixed—no reason for scruple or delicacy in making appropriations without any authority—no reason for scruple or delicacy in taking of a fund which law had not granted me the power of touching; but on which an object of great public utility, the maintenance and upholding of the College fabric, seems to have been devolved. I take your dispensation, Gentlemen, at its full value; and I do hope that my good friends, the professors of St. Andrews, will not be too hardly dealt with because of the denunciations which such judges have passed on them.

"After your Act of May 1829, I never once dreamed of any other sentence from your lips than that of a full and open and unqualified justification of the professors of St. Andrews. Such a pronounced opinion upon them was the only consistent and honourable way in which you could follow up the permission you had given to myself; and, for their sakes, I honestly rejoiced in it. I never liked the practice they had fallen into of helping themselves, and was annoyed beyond measure by the obstructions which they threw in the way of my bringing the matter distinctly before you; but, after all, I could not but view the errors into which they had almost insensibly been led as being very much the errors of their position; and, taking into account the exceeding smallness of their incomes, I, from the moment that your Act of 1829 was put into my hand, confidently looked for your declaration of entire acquittal and satisfaction with their conduct. But it appears that you have devised for them another species of consolation. Instead of telling the world that they were right, you have provided them with the comfort and the countenance of a larger companionship in wrong, and to enhance the favour, it is

wrong which yourselves have created. You have not taken off the burden from their shoulders, but you have kindly introduced among them another offender of your own making, who, by sharing it along with them, might help to ease them of its pressure. After having vainly tried, among the relics of former visitations, to find for them a precedent, you have done what was next best—you have fastened upon me as the object of your seductions, and endeavoured, by the conduct into which yourselves have misled me, to find for them an imitation. I can observe, Gentlemen, that your taste is for uniformity, and that any discrepancy or contrast between me and my colleagues was an obnoxious spectacle in your eyes. To rid you of this, a work of assimilation had to be performed, that you might have the comfort of one simple and harmonious decision upon us all. British honour will know how to view such a proceeding. A British King and British Parliament will know how to appreciate the moral judgments of men, who, instead of constructing their representation on the materials which they found, first adjusted the materials to suit their representation—who became the tempters first, and the accusers afterwards—who, ere they would tell the fault, took aside the only professor that was free from it, and suggested, nay, authorized, the very deed which numbers him among the defaulters—who, such their love to virtue that nothing less than a monopoly of the article would serve them, cleared the field of its last remnant, that they might become the only examples and only expounders of it themselves."*

* *Letter to the Royal Commissioners for the Visitation of Colleges in Scotland.* 8vo. Glasgow 1832. Pp. 20-24.

CHAPTER VIII.

THIRD VOLUME OF THE CHRISTIAN AND CIVIC ECONOMY OF LARGE TOWNS—REPEAL OF THE COMBINATION LAWS—GENERAL ASSEMBLY—VISITS TO HADDINGTON, DIRLETON, TANTALLON, KELLOE, AYR, COLZEAN CASTLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT, ANWOTH, BIRTHPLACE AND GRAVE OF DR. THOMAS BROWN, BROOMHALL AND TULLIBOLE.

THE Journal of a preceding chapter may have conveyed to the reader a very dark impression of the winter 1825-26, inducing the belief that Dr. Chalmers's time had been largely occupied and his spirit almost constantly distracted by college broils. Such an impression would be incorrect. He had the faculty to an extraordinary degree of rapidly transferring his thoughts from any irritating topic and concentrating them upon a different subject: and this faculty was at that period put into busy requisition. Incessant literary labour, with the engagements of the class-room, and daily social intercourse, filled up his time too fully and too pleasantly to allow these college controversies habitually to distract his mind. In addition to his ordinary professorial work he busied himself during this session with the completion of the third volume of "The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns." He entered here once more upon his favourite ground, and in his opening chapters dealt another stroke at the Poor-Law system of England. In this instance, however, he carried public sympathy fully along with him, as the blow was aimed at that most obnoxious parochial provision by which the poor-rates were fre-

quently applied in aid of defective wages. The effect of this in deranging the labour-market and disordering the connexion between employers and employed was so ruinous, that it needed only to be exposed in order to be condemned. To that exposure Dr. Chalmers contributed so largely that he cannot but be regarded as having lent a most influential hand in the removal of this great national evil. It was, however, to a subject of more temporary interest that the main bulk of this third volume was devoted. The entrance of Mr. Canning and Mr. Huskisson into office in 1822, had opened a new era in the mercantile and commercial policy of Great Britain. Under the guidance of the latter of these two distinguished men, that legislation which had been intended to protect, but which in reality had cramped and fettered native industry, began to be relaxed. Dr. Chalmers hailed with delight the career upon which Mr. Huskisson had so auspiciously entered. Among other legislative improvements introduced under his sanction, the numerous and stringent laws against the combination of operatives refusing to work for the purpose of raising their wages, were repealed. For a few months the effects of this repeal were most disastrous. Under the delusion that some new power had been given them of coercing their masters, the workmen formed into monstrous combinations all over the country, ceasing in some instances for weeks and months together from all labour, and not only threatening, but executing violence upon those who consented to work. The alarm excited was excessive. Under its pressure many loudly demanded the re-enactment of the Combination Laws. Dr. Chalmers threw himself as an arbiter between parties driven into a temporary and ill-judged warfare. The occasion offered to him a good opportunity for bringing forward some general speculations upon the proper province of legislation in such questions, and upon the natural and artificial influences by which the wages

of labour are regulated. Upon the principle that nothing should be ordained to be a crime by the Legislature which is not felt to be a crime by man's natural conscience—that workmen should be left as free in the employment of their labour as their masters are in the employment of their capital, Dr. Chalmers loudly applauded the repeal of the Combination Laws. But while he strongly urged that no law should be enacted against combinations as such, he as strongly contended that the severest penalties should be visited upon every thing, whether in the form of threat or force, by which the perfect freedom of the individual labourer was violated. The Combination Laws were not re-enacted; and we may now point to the predictions made by him while public opinion was as yet in a state of great fermentation, as furnishing one of the many instances of his sagacity and foresight. While principally addressing himself to the question then under general discussion, the public ear was too invitingly open at this time for Dr. Chalmers not to pour into it, as he tried to do in the closing chapters of this volume, some of his own favourite theories as to the effect of manufactures and foreign commerce in adding to national capital, and thus replenishing the fund by which our domestic industry is sustained.

Released in May from his occupations in St. Andrews, Dr. Chalmers took his place once more in the General Assembly of the Church at Edinburgh. He had now at last the satisfaction of seeing his efforts for the improvement of theological education so far crowned with success that it was made imperative on all students preparing for the ministry to give one year at least of regular attendance at the Divinity Hall. This was but a small part of what he had aimed at effecting and lived to see realized. The difficulty he had experienced in accomplishing this initial step only serves to shew with what obstacles the reforming party in the Church of Scotland had

at this time to contend. The renewed discussion of the Plurality Question afforded Dr. Chalmers another and final opportunity of pleading for the protection of the Christian ministry from that corruption which the union of offices engendered. Though increasingly hopeful as to the issue, he was doomed to suffer the mortification of another defeat. His disappointment was, however, somewhat mitigated by the nomination, a few months after the rising of the Assembly, of a Royal Commission to visit and report upon the Scottish Universities, with power to remedy all evils alleged to exist in their constitutions or practices. Until this Commission should have issued its Report the General Assembly deemed it inexpedient to enter upon the question of the union of offices. In 1831 that Report was laid before Parliament and the country, announcing that—

"The Commissioners having had under consideration the proposals contained in a paper brought before them on 17th October 1828, relative to the expediency of prohibiting the union of professorships with other offices, and having deliberated generally upon the whole question, resolved—

"1. That it is not expedient that any person holding a professorship of language, philosophy, mathematics, medicine, or law, should at the same time be a minister of any parish church.

"2. That it is not expedient that any person who holds a professorship of Oriental languages should at the same time be a minister of any parish church.

"3. That for the same reasons, though applying somewhat in a different manner and degree, it is not expedient that any person who is Principal in any of the Universities should at the same time be a minister of any parish church."

During the summer of 1826, Dr. Chalmers had undertaken to deliver a lecture before the School of Arts at Haddington—

to visit Mr. Buchan at Kelloe in Berwickshire—to preach for four successive Sabbaths in Glasgow—and to spend a week or two with a sister who had lately married the Rev. Mr. M'Lellan, minister of Kelton in Kirkcudbrightshire. He accomplished all these objects in the course of a tour continued throughout the months of July and August. Our space permits only a few extracts from the copious Journal Letters, in which the minutest incidents are recorded.

At Haddington every arrangement had been made to gratify Dr. Chalmers's strong passion for exploring. On Tuesday the 11th July, the day after his arrival, a party of six had "the tour of a very delightful day. We rode first to Dirleton, where I breakfasted with Mr. Stark, minister, by whom I was cheered on the subject of pauperism, he having adopted my system in his parish and succeeded therein. Saw Dirleton Castle after breakfast—in ruins, and the likest of any thing to Kenilworth Castle. * * * We reached North Berwick at twelve, and landed in General Dalrymple's, who kindly accompanied us to the top of North Berwick Law. He carried up a powerful spy-glass, and I cannot tell you how much I was delighted with the application of it along the coast of Fife, from Balcomie eastward, to Wemyss westward. Saw most distinctly Crail, Barnsmuir, Kilrenny Church, the steeples of East and West Anstruther, Pittenweem, St. Monance, &c., &c. I was very much regaled with all this. We had a glorious view of Haddingtonshire, a marvellously rich and cultivated land. * * * Proceeded to Tantallon, a wonderful ruin, massy, strong, and of enormous bulk in its walls and turrets, but without picturesque variety. It stands on the top of a precipice which overhangs the beach, the character of which, alternating between little sandy bays and bold jutting promontories, was very interesting. Here poor Thomson, son of the minister of Prestonkirk, lost his life in bathing. The locality

was particularly pointed out to me. I also here renewed my application to the General's spy-glass, and enjoyed exceedingly the well-known objects of my calf-ground."

A speech at a missionary meeting, and a sermon in the afternoon, consumed a considerable portion of Wednesday. Nevertheless Dr. Chalmers found time for a number of calls, including, among others, a visit to "Mr. Samuel Brown the philanthropist, and Mr. Gilbert Burns, brother of the poet, a very respectable and interesting man." On Thursday, "Mr. Hamilton of Bangour came from the country to take me on an excursion. Went to Beale about eight miles off—a most magnificent chateau belonging formerly to Nisbet of Dirleton, and now to Mrs. Fergusson. A most beautiful policy and gardens, with descending terraces down on a steep bank, and terminating in a grassy level on the side of the river Tyne, richly variegated with trees of deepest foliage. Was conducted through the house. The most interesting object in it was the statue of a mendicant and her child, as large as life, and without exception the most touching and vivid piece of sculpture I ever saw."

The lecture before the School of Arts was delivered in the Assembly Rooms, Haddington, at eight o'clock on the same day, and at seven o'clock on the following morning Dr. Chalmers was on his way to Dunbar. "Left Dunbar about twelve o'clock, lighted at the gate of Dunglas, the seat of Sir James Hall, and walked on each side of a very lofty bridge in his policy. Further on, and a little off the road, visited Pease Bridge, a marvellous erection, formerly made for the sake of the communication on the high-road to London. It is prodigiously high. We had a carter to hold our gig while we visited this scene of romantic grandeur. It made a great impression on me. Went to Grant's House, thirteen miles from Dunbar, where Mr Buchan's carriage was waiting for

me. Here I took a lunch. The people of Grant's House were exceedingly kind to me. It is a single storey, and *butt* and *ben* house. The landlord had been told who I was. He clapped my shoulder both when handing me out of the gig and into the carriage. His daughter served the table, and was greatly ashamed of her mother for putting horn *cutties* instead of their best pewter spoons to dinner. The mother brought out a bottle of her best as we were leaving the house, with the purpose of bestowing upon us a gratis dram. In short, it was a delightful scene altogether of pleasant and primitive cordiality. Took leave of them, and of my excellent young friend John Lorimer, and was driven across the Lammermoors. A most delightful stage of moor and upland, at the end of which, and about four miles from Kelloe, there burst upon me all at once the glorious expanse of cultivated Berwickshire. Reached Kelloe about five o'clock, and was delightfully entertained in the bosom of an affectionate and Christian household." Visits to Dunse Law, Dunse Castle, and Wedderburn, filled up the Saturday. On Sunday an immense assemblage, not more than half of whom could get within the church, assembled to hear him preach in the church of Edrom. Tuesday the 18th was spent at Aytoun House, the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Fordyce.—" Visited the gardener, who is dying. Walked over part of the beautiful grounds. A large party at dinner—largely reinforced at tea, called together by the zeal of Mr. Fordyce, who wanted them to hear me expound. A good deal embarrassed by the high imaginations which the people have of me. Came on however better than I expected. Oh that the spirit which reigns at Kelloe, and is so active at Aytoun, were transferred within my own family!"

On Wednesday Dr. Chalmers left Kelloe.—" Took leave of a mansion where I have been treated with most unbounded kindness. I rode on to Ednam. Took with me a book en-

titled, 'The Loss of the Winterton, East Indiaman,' of which I never knew before that Mr. Buchan is the author, as he is also the subject. Read it with great interest. This is the birthplace of Thomson the poet, and he has here a monument to his memory. Spent a quiet, calm, intellectual evening at the manse.

"*Thursday.*—Took leave of Ednam between nine and ten o'clock. Went first to Kelso where I called a few minutes on Mr. Lundie, and arranged to be with him in the evening. Then went to Kersemains, where we called for an hour on the Pringles, and arranged to be back to them at dinner; then to a farm five miles further up the Teviot, where there is now a Mrs. Scott, formerly Esther Elliot, whom I knew when a girl of twelve years old, the granddaughter of Mr. Elliot of Cavers, to whom I was assistant in 1801-2. Figure my astonishment when, instead of a creature like Anne, I saw a great fat wife of thirty-seven, and the mother of eight children. Stopped here about an hour, but before we turned our gig down the Teviot again, we called on an old couple, formerly belonging to the parish of Cavers, and now living here. They are the parents of the celebrated John Leyden, now deceased. Came back to Kersemains to dinner. Mr. and Mrs. Pringle had been very attentive to me at Cavers, where they were parishioners twenty-four years ago. We had to come away between six and seven o'clock, as I wished, for the sake of Mrs. Lundie, to be most punctually with her by seven. This did not prevent me, however, from stopping the gig opposite to Roxburgh Castle, and running up to it, whence, even in the midst of rain, I could enjoy one of the most glorious panoramas I ever beheld, where the blended beauties of Teviot and Tweed were concentred upon the environs of Kelso, and the Palace of Fleurs, with the seats and plantations of other grandees, threw a richness over the scene. * * * The reason why I was so punctual in

my return is, that Mrs. Lundie could only see me in the drawing-room from seven to eight. She has been most singularly exercised. From November last one of her children, a daughter nine years old, has been afflicted with a disease in her spine; can only lie in a particular position, which either nobody understands but her mother, or which she will maintain only in her mother's arms. This has confined poor Mrs. Lundie in a sitting position, with the weight of the child upon her, for seven months, with the exception of only one hour out of the four and twenty in the evening. How she gets over even that hour I do not well comprehend; but certain it is that the child did take spasms and fits when Mrs. Lundie gave her away. * * * Poor Mrs. Lundie retired at eight, and I was afterwards called up to family worship in her bed-room, where I expounded. There I saw her and her child in their seven months' posture. I remained behind with her after the family left us, and certainly was much impressed both by her Christian feeling and Christian fortitude."

Having joined a part of his family in Edinburgh on the 21st, Dr. Chalmers proceeded with them to Glasgow, and preached in St. John's Chapel on Sabbath the 23d. From a preceding portion of this volume, the reader may easily conceive how the succeeding four weeks were occupied. As if all his preparations for the pulpit and multiplied intercourse with his agency and friends were not enough, he wrote, during this period, a preface to a volume of Sermons by the Rev. Mr. Russel of Stirling, and found time for a careful perusal of Dr. Welsh's 'Life of Dr. Thomas Brown.' The interval between his two last Sabbaths was claimed by Mrs. Glasgow, and his days at Mountgreenan, although "not abounding in incidents, were full of enjoyment." There was one little incident, however, which has been faithfully chronicled. On Wednesday the 9th August he preached in the church at Kil-

winning.—" Mrs. Parker came from Fairlie, in consequence of a letter from Mrs. Glasgow, to hear me. She brought Miss Parker, Anne Parker, and our Anne along with her. I had previously written to Anne to bring her trunk, lest we should determine on detaining her here. This she did; and after I had preached, and we all met at the gate of the churchyard, there was a vast deal of consultation and deliberation and vacillation and agitation about the line of proceeding. First, Mrs. Glasgow invited Mrs. Parker and her daughters to dine at Mountgreenan; but that was impossible. Then Mrs. Parker said to me, that although they had brought Anne's trunk, yet they were most desirous of taking her back, if I would only consent; and I feared that was impossible. Then the two Annes looked despair at one another, and the idea of separation brought tears into each of their eyes respectively; and I, on seeing this, began to give way, and mumbled out my opinion that our Anne behoved to go back to Fairlie. Then Mrs. Glasgow proposed, as a healing measure, that she would take the two Annes to Mountgreenan, and send back Anne Parker on Friday. Then Miss Susan Parker alleged the impossibility of such an arrangement, and was seconded therein by Mrs. Parker. I felt helpless and truly inefficient in the midst of all this exceeding complication of different plans, feelings, interests, and partialities, till at length Mrs. Glasgow took the arrangements very properly over all our puzzled heads, put the two Annes into her carriage, and bade adieu to Mrs. and Miss Susan Parker, the latter of whom left us, however, with tears in her eyes."

On Thursday the Mountgreenan party dined at Eglinton Castle.—" A very fine place, though placed in the midst of an extensive level, which does not admit great variety in the pleasure-grounds; yet, nevertheless, there is a magnificence in the ample and venerable trees that are spread over a great

extent of circumambient space, and there is a castellated grandeur both in the house itself and its massive gateways. * * * I was struck with a magnificent dog, of the St. Bernard species, the largest I had ever seen, and who made, I think, a very noble figure among the nobles of the noble mansion." On Friday, among other visiters, "there came to us Mr. Cunningham of Lainshaw, whose visit has greatly interested and impressed me. He has been reading Irving's work on 'Prophecy;' and though he has some systematic objections to it, yet, on the whole, is highly pleased. At dinner we introduced the topic, and had, during the whole of his stay, a deal of Christian conversation, which the company at large not only tolerated, but I believe enjoyed. I must say that there appears to me something very enviable in Mr. Cunningham's state, living, as he does, in constant spirituality; and he affirms the connexion to be such between this and the study of prophecy, and that himself has profited so exceedingly as to the state of his own heart, by the attention which he has given to it, that I feel strongly inclined, and indeed promised to Mr. Cunningham that I would make a more particular effort both of his books and Mr. Irving's. He promises me a world of enlargement and of enjoyment from the study, and says that I have been wasting my efforts upon political economy. I do not yet altogether agree with him; but oh that I had the devotedness of that man! I am sure it is the way to be happy here as well as hereafter. I trust that I have received an impulse from his conversation."

Sunday, the 13th August, was Dr. Chalmers's last Sabbath in Glasgow, and the next morning saw him on his way to Maybole, in Ayrshire, where he had engaged to preach on the evening of that day. After leaving Ayr, which he reached about mid-day, "we passed the house where Robert Burns was born, and then got on to his monument, a very elegant produc-

tion, and much admired. It is a cupola upheld by four Corinthian pillars. We ascend by a stair, and from the top have an admirable view of the 'banks and braes o' bonny Doune.' It is close by the stream, and very near Alloway Kirk, made classical by Tam o' Shanter. The Auld Brig over the Doune is very near. I took Anne and Christina to it on foot, and descended to the margin of the water, making each of them lap a little water from the classical burn. The man who showed the monument was desired to get us some water for drinking by the time we returned from the Brig. Mr. Paul told him, meanwhile, who I was, on which he resolved to provide me with what he called 'classical' water, and accordingly he got it from the place alluded to by Burns in the couplet—

> 'The bush aboon the well,
> Where Mungo's mither hanged herself.'"

On Wednesday forenoon there was an excursion from Maybole to Colzean Castle, the magnificent seat of Earl Cassilis. "Arrived on the ground about eleven o'clock. Caught most interesting views of the stately and castellated fabric through the trees while we approached it. It is placed on a lofty cliff overhanging the sea, and the coast on both sides is of a singularly wild and romantic character. We went first to the beach, where we entered some deep caves immediately below the castle. The tide was in, and this impeded our movements somewhat. When we again ascended, we passed through the spacious court, with its fort-looking embrasures, and a colossal statue of Saturn in the centre. The front of the castle bespeaks great massiveness and strength, and this character is upheld by the general solidity of the interior, where a most substantial staircase supports a double corridor, and is lighted up by an ample dome from the roof. The rooms are all arranged around the central staircase. They are small within for the external size of the building, but have a great appearance

of security and comfort. There are one or two fine pictures; the most striking that of a mother rescuing her infant from an eagle's nest. We were let out to enjoy the views from a balustrade looking to the sea. The prospect was hazy; yet Ailsa and Arran, particularly the former, looked quite magnificent. We then went forth on the pleasure-ground and walks, enjoyed to the uttermost the noble terracing, and orange house, and wooded pathways, some of them leading to projections in the beach whence we could descry very ample sweeps of various scenery—and the aviary where Lady Cassilis kept her birds, and the lake about a mile's length, over whose clear and peaceful bosom there floated black and white swans, with many other kinds of aquatic fowls. Four of the party, the strongest both in curiosity and muscle, resolved to proceed along the beach to Turnbury Castle. We scampered along the beach to the ruin, all whose vestiges are now very nearly swept away. Returned in the way we came to our party, who in the meantime had found their way to the gardener's house, where they were most liberally dealt with in grapes, peaches, and other fruits. We were taken through beautiful shrubberies that arose from grassy lawns, and a most elegant conservatory. Mr. H. Paul discovered his characteristic liberality. He also evinced his tendency to puns, in which I got the better of him this day. The aviary was shewn by a woman who talked a great deal of nonsense; and I remarked that we had just to pronounce it in the English way, and it would suit very well—the *havery*."*

Through the wilds of Ayrshire and Galloway, along Loch Ken, and by the banks of the Dee, Dr. Chalmers made his way to the manse of Kelton. The neighbourhood was new to him, presenting a series of "truly picturesque views," which surprised him "as much as he had ever been before with

* To *haver*, i.e., to talk foolishly.—*Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary.*

the magnitude and variety of creation." His organ of locality was indulged to the uttermost. They were unfortunate in one morning's drive. "The wet prevented all distant prospects, but not the view of all that beauty and variety which played around the immediate environs. Got to Kirkcudbright at nine o'clock. * * * The Countess of Selkirk had sent a very kind message, in consequence of which we called upon her, and were most deliciously received. She is exceedingly frank and natural and intelligent, and quite feminine withal. She informed me that her husband, now deceased, the Earl of Selkirk, a great political economist, admired my first work on political economy, published now eighteen years ago, and had written part of a review upon it for the '*Edinburgh*,' which she promised to shew me. We saw his bust by Chantrey in a room which she would not enter along with us, from her feeling as we supposed, for she accompanied us everywhere else, and laying aside all state in kindness, went with us to the very door, where we took leave of this very fascinating personage. Before we went to St. Mary's Isle, I had a message from the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Kirkcudbright, stating their wish to meet and present me with the freedom of their town. They appointed half-past one o'clock for the ceremony, but we kept them waiting half an hour; however, we made our best apologies. The principal people of the place were there, and I had to make a short reply when the honour was conferred upon me. It was a very gratifying attention." Calling at Cailey, "a magnificent place, with beautiful grounds and very fine pictures"—driving through Gatehouse, the most beautiful and cleanly village he ever passed through—and proceeding through "a singularly wild and primitive scene," Dr. Chalmers and Mr. M'Lellan made their way in the afternoon to the manse of Anwoth. "You know," he writes, "my attraction to this place. It is the parish of

Samuel Rutherford, and I wished to ascertain the traditional vestiges of him. Mr. Turnbull let me know what they were, and we agreed to visit them early the next morning.

"*Wednesday, 23d August.*—Started at five o'clock: ordered the gig forward on the public road, to meet us after a scramble of about two miles among the hills in the line of Rutherford's memorials. Went first to his church, the identical fabric he preached in, and which is still preached in. The floor is a causeway. There are dates of 1628 and 1633 in some old carved seats. The pulpit is the same, and I sat in it. It is smaller than Kilmany, and very rude and simple. The church bell is said to have been given to him by Lady Kenmure, one of his correspondents in his 'Letters.' It is singularly small for a church, having been the Kenmure house-bell. We then passed the new church that is building, but I am happy to say that the old fabric and Rutherford's pulpit are to be spared. It is a cruel circumstance that they pulled down, and that only three weeks ago, his dwelling-house, the old manse which has not been used as a manse for a long time, but was recently occupied. It should have been spared. Some of the masons who were ordered to pull it down refused it as they would an act of sacrilege, and have been dismissed from their employment. We went and mourned over the rubbish of the foundation. Then ascended a bank, still known by the name of Rutherford's Walk. Then went farther among the hills to Rutherford's witnesses—so many stones which he called to witness against some of his parishioners who were amusing themselves at the place with some game on the Sunday, and whom he went to reprove. The whole scene of our morning's walk was wild and primitive and interesting. Mr. Turnbull and his little son accompanied us all the way till we met our gig. Got into it, and had a delightful drive before breakfast to Mr. Sibbald, minister of Kirkmabreck. It was in this

manse that Dr. Thomas Brown was born, and it was my interest in him that urged me forward to the west. Was shewn the room of his birth, and the place where his father recited his sermons, in a wood at the back of his garden, behind which there was also shewn to me a place where the children used to roast potatoes. It seems that Dr. Brown, in his last visit to the manse, was shewn all these localities, and was thrown into a flood of sensibility therewith; and I was in a very grave and pathetic mood myself when surveying all these classic and interesting remains, when Sibbald, who is a great droll, put the whole to flight by telling me, in a very odd way, that Dr. Brown's cousin was with him, who, unable to comprehend or sympathise with this whole process of weeping and sobbing, asked him in a very gruff way, 'What are you makin' sic a wark about, man?' The incongruity of the one man's speech with the other man's sentimentalism threw me into immoderate peals of laughter, which really disturbed and discomposed the whole proper effect of my visit. Within the manse I was shewn the room of his birth, which it seems is inquired for by many strangers, some of whom even go up among the hills about two miles off to a singularly retired churchyard, where the old church, now disused for a whole century, is situated. This I reserved till we should return from Newton-Stewart, eight miles further on, and whither I was impelled in the hope of meeting Brown's sisters, and as the token of my regard for his memory. * * * Called for them, but found that they had not returned from Wigton; and now having twenty-four miles to drive to dinner, and the day very far advanced, we drove at full speed back to Kirkmabreck, and had a long and fatiguing scramble with Mr. Sibbald among the hills behind his house to visit Brown's grave. Reached the churchyard, and gazed on the spot where he lies. It is a family piece of ground, and inclosed with an iron rail. His father and grandfather

were ministers of the parish, and over the grandfather's grave there is a stone with a Latin inscription, but not a stone to tell where the great philosopher lies. I am most desirous of a classical monument being raised to his memory behind the manse. It was six o'clock before we reached Twynholm manse, where the company were fully assembled; Mr. M'Lellan and I completely tired, having travelled fifty miles this day, besides a great deal of walking." * * *

"*Saturday 26th.*—Mr. Welsh* of Crossmichael sent his gig for me to Sir Alexander Gordon's. I was driven by his nephew to the manse, about two miles off, and breakfasted with him. It is beautifully situated on the banks of the Dee. Strolled with him over the premises till twelve o'clock. We had a great deal of talk about phrenology, Dr. Brown, a monument to him,† &c. Mr. Welsh is the most congenial person that I have met with in this country."

At Dumfries, on the following Tuesday, he finished off a round of calls by visiting "Mrs. Burns, wife of the poet, who received us with kindness and evident pleasure, and shewed us pictures of her husband, &c. I was glad to see her so respectably lodged and furnished. She has a pension."

"Supersaturated" with this wandering life, Dr. Chalmers turned his face northward on Wednesday the 30th August. "It rained all the first stage from Dumfries, but lightened up, so that I got outside till about sixteen miles from Edinburgh. Greatly interested by the original line of road which I traversed. The Lowther Hills particularly fine in the parish of Durrisdeer; and the glen of Dalveen, with its besetting hills of beautiful forms, its steep ascent and road of apparent if not real danger, one of the most impressive things

* The Rev. Dr. Welsh, the biographer of Dr. Thomas Brown, and afterwards Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh.

† See Appendix C.

I ever travelled through. Reached Edinburgh after eight o'clock."

The wandering life was not yet over. Lord Elgin expected him at Broomhall, and Sir Harry Moncreiff at Tullibole, and a fortnight more was given to these two visits. From Broomhall he writes,—"*Sunday, 3d September.*—Mr. Jardine came to my room before breakfast with a message from Lord Elgin, that instead of going to Dunfermline Church in the forenoon he would like me to officiate in his family, which I consented to only on condition that a message explanatory of my absence should be sent to Mr. Chalmers. Saw Lord Elgin giving his Sabbath lessons to his family when I went in upon him. Strolled a little after breakfast among the beautiful walks, and was delighted with the groups of people moving to the meeting-house at Limekilns, whose bell was ringing at the time. The grounds reach the beach, and from a projecting point on them we have a very fine command. The family assembled in the dining-room, and I gave about an hour's exposition. There drew up two carriages to take us to the afternoon church; a full congregation, a most brilliant day, and though I preached with vehemence in the echoing fabric, yet not with the fatigue which I felt very much on a former occasion.

"*Monday.*—Have had a kind and urgent letter from Sir Harry. I go to him to-morrow. He is evidently very desirous to see me, and I am not sorry to visit a man whom I never again may have an opportunity of seeing so much of, and who has performed so respectable a part in his day.* I will not burden you any further with letters. But this, you will perceive, is my last long sheet, No. 12. You must put together all my twelve folios, and put them in a place by themselves.

* The only memorial of this visit which is preserved is this postscript to a letter dated Kinross, September 9 :—"I have had a delightful visit to Sir Harry Moncreiff."

They will form the record of a very interesting excursion, and though I do not mean to publish them, yet I ask you to advert to this, that I have written you as much as would form an 8vo volume of 300 pages, of the same type with my sermons.

"And now, my dearest G., let me urge on you the great and only essential topics for the entertainment of immortal creatures. This world, with all those petty and evanescent interests which now so engross and agitate, will soon pass away. And surely there is enough in the greatness and glory even of our present revelations, to lift us above them. What is all that is near or around us to the worth of those precious interests which attach to immortality? Let us lay hold of eternal life. Let us cast our confidence for life upon the Saviour. Let us enter into this life even now, by entering upon its graces and virtues even now. Let us cultivate a present holiness not merely as a preparation but as a foretaste of our future happiness. Those children of ours have a vast and momentous interest associated with them. They have imperishable spirits; and they have a right at our hands of having provision made for them. I desire to feel the weight of all this, and to act upon it far more rigorously and faithfully than I have ever yet done."

CHAPTER IX.

LETTERS TO HIS SISTER—HER DEATH—LETTERS TO HIS MOTHER—LAST ILLNESS—MEMORABILIA OF HER DEATHBED.

Of his father's numerous family only three remained at Anstruther when Dr. Chalmers removed from Glasgow, and during his short residence in St. Andrews he followed two of these to the grave. His sister Isabel had always been of feeble health, and towards the close of the year 1823 her delicacy assumed a form which left little hope that her life would be much prolonged. Anxieties as to her religious state were awakened in the mind of Dr. Chalmers. Simple-minded, quiet, and reserved, devoting herself wholly to domestic duties, she had given him little opportunity of knowing how she stood as to the great interests of eternity. He began therefore at the beginning, and suiting himself to that simplicity which was her chief characteristic, he addressed to her the following series of letters, in the course of which it will delight the Christian reader to perceive how completely the desire of his heart was fulfilled.

"*St. Andrews, January 11th*, 1824.—My dear Isabel,—I now sit down to fulfil my promise of writing to you, a promise that I should have made good long ago. But I have been very much engrossed for some years back, and am still greatly engrossed. I was glad to find, when last in Anster, that you took pleasure in reading such books as are really useful. I

send you one, of which I have another copy, and that I am now engaged in the perusal of. I think it excellent; and I should imagine that a serious reading of it were highly fitted to awaken a deep and inquiring earnestness about the things which belong to our everlasting peace.

"The thing that we are most in want of is, a 'great concern about the soul.' We know too little about the sinfulness of our state, and therefore it is that we care so little about the Saviour. He is lightly esteemed by us, and the preaching of His cross is apt to sound as foolishness in our ears. We take up with this world as our all. Its pleasures wholly engage us, or its crosses and cares make us miserable. It would not be so if we felt that we had a portion above and beyond the world. We would think less of the amusements or the inconveniences of the road if we looked more to the end of it.

"I do think that this work of Halyburton's is eminently fitted to be of use to the attentive reader of it, who ponders on the truths which it contains, and prays that they may be blessed to the purpose of a salutary and saving impression upon the heart. May you find yourself greatly wiser and better after a devout reading of it. Do not fatigue or oppress yourself with much at a time, but rather lay seriously to heart the little that you do read. A single verse of the Bible when dwelt upon believingly may be of more benefit to the soul than whole volumes carelessly read and speedily forgotten."

"*St. Andrews, March* 23*d*, 1824.—My dear Isabel,—I am glad to hear that you are not worse. I hope that you got Clarke's 'Scripture Promises,' but whether you have got the book or not, you have a far nobler privilege in your access to the Bible. I stated that you ought not to fatigue yourself by reading, and indeed in as far as the Bible is concerned, I should imagine that when one is sickly and unwell the best way of reading it would

be, here a little and there a little. A single verse, in fact, might, by the power and demonstration of God's Holy Spirit, be made the instrument of comfort to one's spirit for hours together. It is a great matter when the mind dwells on any passage of Scripture, just to think how true it is. This is acting or exercising faith upon it, and the exercise of faith is at all times salutary. For example, think how true it is that God hath set forth Christ as a propitiation for sin, and in the course of so thinking it may so be that peace shall spring up in the heart—that guilt shall no longer burden the conscience, seeing that an atonement hath been provided for it by God himself—that a sense of reconciliation shall gladden the soul now at rest, because now resting on the sure foundation of God's own word; and thus it is, that a weary and heavy-laden sinner may come to great peace and great joy in believing.

"I know that many read the Bible daily, and have opened and read it many thousand times in their lives, without its producing any such effect. Unless the Spirit of God open our eyes to behold the wondrous things that are contained in the book of God's law, it will remain a sealed book to us. But how comfortable to think that the Spirit is given to those who ask Him from God; that He is promised to guide us unto all truth, and to keep all things in our remembrance; and that if we ask we shall receive, if we seek we shall find, if we knock the door shall be opened to us. There is no want, in short, of willingness with God. To find His mercy, all that is needful for us is to feel our own misery, and to cry for relief. He who giveth the ravens their food will hear us when we cry; for be assured, that His ear is ever open to our prayer.

"It is greatly for our encouragement that God likes to be trusted, that He bids us cast our care and our confidence upon Himself, that He feels it an honour done to His Son when we place reliance upon Him as our Saviour. And how safe must

every believer be when God hath expressly said, that he who believeth in Christ shall not be confounded, that he who believeth shall not be put to shame.

"The great thing is, to look unto Jesus. We see Him not with the eye of the body; but we can at least think of Him with the mind. And we do Him great injustice if we think of Him in any other way than as the Friend of sinners—the meek and gentle Saviour—the Lamb whose blood hath taken away the sins of the world—our High-Priest with God, who sitteth at His right hand, and pleads the cause of every sinner who applies to Him for help, being able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God through Him, and ever living to make intercession for them.

"Be assured that He will in no wise cast you out if you come unto Him. Lean upon Him and He will bear you up. Feel that you are nothing in yourself, but rejoice in the Lord Jesus. In Him you are complete, for He is both able and willing to save you."

"*St. Andrews, April 10th*, 1824.—My dear Isabel,—I feel particularly encouraged to write you by the last letter that I got from my mother, and I am glad to find that my handwriting is not so illegible as to be altogether a bar in the way of your making it out.

"The advice which I have to repeat is a short one, but if it be taken you will find a sure step to peace and joy here, and to everlasting life hereafter. 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' It was the advice given by Apostles to a jailer—and he took it, and forthwith rejoiced. And we have all as good a warrant for taking it as he had. It was not in any worthiness of his own, but in the worth of Christ that he rejoiced; and this worth is just as available to us as it was to him, for He came not only to save sinners, but the chief of sinners. It is a fearful thing, no doubt, to reflect what sinners

we are; but it should hush every fear when we reflect further, that Christ's power and grace are magnified in the salvation even of the greatest sinners, and that what He expressly wants us to do is, to trust to Him for all our salvation—to venture our all upon Christ—to pay to Him the homage of our confidence, and He will most certainly not disappoint us. Be not afraid, only believe, and according to your faith so shall it be done unto you.

"And it is well, too, that we should feel how wholly unable we are of ourselves ever to believe in Him. It is very well if we have even so much as a desire after Him. Our very faith is weak, and clouded, and imperfect, but the good work is begun when we begin in good earnest to long after Christ; and it is a work that He is both willing and able to perfect. He will not despise the day of small things. Even though our faith were but as a grain of mustard-seed, He will foster it into growth, and vigour, and maturity. He will not break the bruised reed, He will not quench the smoking flax, but He will give efficacy to your prayers, and He will perfect that which concerns you."

"*St. Andrews, June 9th*, 1824.—MY DEAR ISABEL,—I was grieved to see that you were still complaining so much when I was last at Anstruther. There is only one thing that can reconcile us to the ills and the sufferings of life—but it should do so effectually—and that is, that they are light afflictions which are but for a moment, and which work out for all who trust in Jesus a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. He was tried in all respects like as we are, and He is able to succour them who are so tried. If you could mix a believing thought of Him with the pains and the sicknesses that come upon you, He will either lighten your pains, or, what is still better, He will make them the instruments of refining and purifying your soul.

"I am sensible that the mind is very much affected by the state of the body, and that when the one is in agony the other cannot be expected to be very clear or vigorous in any of its exercises. Nevertheless Christ knoweth our frame, and even our darkest and most confused thoughts of Himself He seeth afar off, and precious in His sight is all the confidence that we can lay upon His full and finished expiation. A sense of your sins ought never to extinguish the sense of your Saviour. There is a virtue in His blood to cleanse away all guilt, and it is through faith in this blood that He becomes your peace-offering and your propitiation with God. You do what is well-pleasing to God when you take the very comfort that He himself offers to you; and surely when He beseeches us to be reconciled, we may well rely upon that foundation which He hath laid in Zion, and which He calls a sure and a tried foundation.

"There is no part of Scripture which I think more fitted to soothe and to sustain a dejected spirit than the writings of John. I have heard you speak of the pleasure that you had in the fourteenth and following chapters of his Gospel. There are some very precious things in his first Epistle also."

"*St. Andrews, June 21st*, 1824.—MY DEAR ISABEL,—I had this day a letter from Ashgrove, where the Balfours of Kilmany now live. It was an intimation of old Mrs. Balfour's death at a very advanced age. Her mind was very nearly gone for a good many months before, but I believe her to have been a good woman, and that her hope and dependence rested upon the Saviour.

"And this is a foundation on which all might place their full reliance before God. He who hath given us His own Son will also with Him freely give us all things. He has done for us already the greatest possible favour by delivering up Christ unto the death for us. After having done so much He will not leave unfinished the salvation of any who put their trust in Him. You have a sure ground on which to rest your hopes

of forgiveness, in the sacrifice that Jesus Christ made to the Father upon the cross; and you have an equally sure ground on which to rest your hopes of sanctification, in the Spirit which He has to bestow on all who believe in Him, and which God has expressly promised that He will give to all who ask it of Him.

"This is a sad and a suffering world, but we are invited to look hopefully forward to a better—to lay hold on eternal life, which we most assuredly shall inherit if we lay hold on Him whom God has set forth as a propitiation for the sins of the world. He is set forth to you as well as to others, and it will be indeed well-pleasing to God, if, giving Him credit for His good-will, you lean the full weight of your dependence upon the Saviour."

"*Fairlie, July 15th*, 1824.—MY DEAR ISABEL,—I received a letter from Mrs. Chalmers about you this day; and however grieved I am to hear of your continued illness, yet my grief is mixed with liveliest gratitude to the God of all comfort for the peace and the grace which He has been pleased to bestow upon you. I know not when I have read any communication with truer pleasure than that which has brought me the tidings of your peace and joy in believing. I am sure, quite sure, that he who believeth shall not be confounded or put to shame, and that in reliance on the Lord Jesus Christ you may safely and quietly take your rest. He Himself was made perfect through sufferings, and you He will make perfect in the same way; and oh, what a transition and what a triumph, when escaped from the sufferings of a poor and perishable body, you are admitted to join in the song of the redeemed, to Him who hath loved you and washed you from your sins in His blood!

"I am truly thankful for the information given by Mrs. Chalmers on many accounts. It is delightful to think of the gracious tokens of His loving-kindness that your merciful

Father has already given you. They are the intimations of your coming glory. They are the earnest of your inheritance. He would never lead you so to rejoice in a sense of His favour, and then withdraw that favour. They are the satisfying pledges to us all of the great and the good things that are in reserve for you; and they serve to reconcile us, as I am sure they will do you, to the pains of your sore disease, which, after all, are but the light afflictions that are for a moment.

"But I have still another reason to be glad of the intelligence that I have gotten. I am hopeful of a good and an abiding impression on all who are around you; that we shall henceforth see a reality and feel a power in religion to which we have been too much strangers; that all of us shall embark in better earnest than before on the course of heavenly preparation; and taking up with Christ as all our salvation, shall live no longer to ourselves, but to Him who died for us and rose again.

"He knows all the difficulty and distress of the way that you now travel, and He knows how to sustain you under it. Cast yourself upon Him, and He will bear you up. Weak as you are by nature, in Him you shall have everlasting strength."

"*Glasgow, July* 21*st*, 1824.—MY DEAR ISABEL,—I had a letter yesterday from Helen giving me an account of you; and however much I grieve for the sufferings of your body, yet I rejoice in the mighty alleviation which must accrue to these sufferings from the peace of your mind. And there is no presumption in that peace which rests on the Lord Jesus. He indeed is both the giver of the peace and the ground of it. We could not feel it but by a faith that is given to us, and the Spirit applying to us the blessed truths of the gospel, and causing us to feel their power and their preciousness. That you so feel is a token of everlasting good to you. God would not first inspire the trust, and then disappoint it. He says absolutely, 'Blessed are they

who trust in God.' All who exercise trust in God shall experience His truth; and what a thing of blessedness it is, that His truth and mercy have so fully met in Christ Jesus, and that in Him peace and righteousness have entered into fellowship.

"There is a fulness in Christ out of which we are all invited to draw freely. In Him you have a full right to God's favour and acceptance. We are complete in Christ, says the Apostle, having in Him a complete pardon, a complete reconciliation, and at length a complete holiness. By His own sufferings He hath perfected our justification in the sight of God; and He often makes our sufferings the instruments of perfecting our sanctification. It will not be perfect on this side of time. There is a remainder of sin that will adhere to us and trouble us so long as we are encompassed with these vile bodies. We may be delivered from the love of sin here, and from the power of it; but we shall not be altogether delivered from its presence till we have made our escape from the body, when we shall serve God without frailty and without a flaw. Let this hope uphold you in the midst of your present afflictions. It is not for God's pleasure, but for your own profit, that you are so exercised. He does not afflict willingly, for it is in wisdom and in kindness that He sends all His visitations to them who believe in His Son; and as Christ suffered, the Just for the unjust, so it behoves the disciples of Christ also to suffer."

Isabel lingered on through the autumn months, a patient sufferer lying meekly in the hands of God—declaring as life closed with the closing year, that Jesus was making good to her His latest promise, by coming again and taking her unto Himself. She died on Saturday the 4th December; and on the following Tuesday his mother wrote to James—"My dear Son,—I have now to write you of the death of your poor suffering sister Isabel. She died on Saturday at eight o'clock at

night. She bore her trouble with great patience and resignation, long looked forward to death, and died full of the hopes of eternal glory, believing in and trusting to the righteousness of Jesus Christ to save her. Thomas comes down to-night; his wife came on Sunday, and we have been much the better of her. Helen has attended her with more than a sister's care and affection. I have the comfort that my dear Isabel had every attention she could wish for both as regards food and medicine. To-morrow is her burying-day. We do not ask any person out of the town, and have given up that foolish custom of bringing a rabble into the house to drink wine and eat sweet-bread. I rather wish to save this and every unnecessary expense, that I may be able to afford to give to the poor, who are very numerous in this place. I will write you again about the New Year, and you may then expect a long lecture on your unpleasant letter. I have been studying contentment for many years, and find it a most comfortable virtue, that gives great peace of mind to them that possess it. I recommend that study to you. * * * You would hear of the death of John Hall. I had a long letter to-day from his mother. I am glad she is able to write. She and all her family are in great affliction. Poor woman! she has had heavy trials through life; but that is what old people may expect. To live long and not feel sorrow is not to be expected in this state of trouble, disappointment, and wo. Happy for us to hope for that state where sin and sorrow never enter. May we all die the death of the righteous, and may our latter end be like them that are now inheriting the promises. Such is the sincere wish of your ever affectionate mother,—ELIZABETH CHALMERS."

It was a great comfort to his mother that Dr. Chalmers lived now so near to her, and that she had frequent opportunities of seeing him at Anstruther. His intercourse with her by letter

was, in consequence of this, more limited than it otherwise might have been. The following letters, however, indicate that even this mode of benefiting and gratifying her was not omitted:—

"*St. Andrews, May 11th*, 1825.—My dear Mother,—There are few circumstances that have given me greater satisfaction than the peace of mind and prospects of blessedness which you enjoy in your old age. Sure I am, that trust in God is trust laid on the right foundation, when we view Him as God in Christ, and that so far from being offended with our confidence, or regarding it as presumption, He rejoices over it as that faith with which He is at all times well pleased. We may therefore securely take up our rest among the promises of the gospel, and look to His own Spirit for strength that we may be enabled to render obedience to the precepts of the gospel; being very certain of this, that the more dependingly we lean upon His truth, the more firmly we shall be supported, and that the more we hunger and thirst after righteousness, so much the more abundantly we shall be filled.

"I was glad to see Romaine's volumes in your house when lately at Anstruther. I am now reading him with great satisfaction and interest. He confines himself very much to one topic, but that topic is an exceeding precious one. His constant recurrence to the value of Christ's righteousness as ours by faith, never palls upon the mind of him who feels his habitual need of a better righteousness than his own, and who is determined with the Apostle Paul to know nothing save Jesus Christ and Him crucified."

"*St. Andrews, November 25th*, 1825.—My dear Mother,—I do very sincerely hope that you still keep your firm and confiding hold upon the Saviour. There is a recompense of reward promised to those who cast not away their confidence. It pleases God to be trusted, and what can helpless, sinful,

and dependent creatures do but just apply and rely. It is a mighty privilege that we have full liberty of access to Him through the open door of Christ's mediatorship, and that we do honour to God's truth, and to His tenderness, by that very act of faith which sustains the peace and comfort of our own hearts.

"May you ever continue to have great peace and joy in believing, and with a hope ever growing brighter of heaven, on the other side of death, may you be found when it arrives in a state of meetness for the inheritance of the saints. Our best compliments to my Aunt and Helen."

"*St. Andrews, June 17th*, 1826.—MY DEAR MOTHER,—It gives us all the greatest pleasure to think that though all your family have now left you, you have such ample and independent resources within yourself. It is this alone, in fact, which reconciles me and Mrs. Chalmers to your continuing to live in Anstruther, and still both of us persist in thinking, that you might be very happy with us in St. Andrews, as I can assure you that it would make us very happy to receive you.

"May that God, who has lighted up the light of His reconciled countenance upon you, continue to bless and to brighten therewith the evening of your days, and may you enjoy many a comfortable meditation in thinking of His good-will through Christ Jesus even to the most undeserving of us all."

"I was delighted to learn from yourself of the comfort that you enjoy in the exercise of a continued trust upon God. It is very true that those books which lead us to look inwardly upon ourselves, lead us to see a corruption there which ought to humble, and, if we see nothing else, would alarm us. But it is well that we are called upon to look outwardly as well as inwardly, more especially to look unto Jesus, and, in defect of our own righteousness, to put on that everlasting righteousness which He hath brought in. May you have great peace and

joy in believing. It is a matter of comfort and thankfulness to us all, that in the midst of solitude, and now that all your family are away from you, you have such a perpetual feast within yourself—a delight in heavenly things—a quiet looking forward to an immortality of happiness and rest."

Age with its manifold infirmities had now cut Mrs. Chalmers off from her most favourite occupations. The last round among her pensioners completed, the last visits to her friends paid, she was confined entirely to the house. Her deafness made it difficult for others to converse with her, and her lameness so increased that it was with pain and difficulty she moved from one room to another. The marriage of a last remaining daughter left her in the summer of 1826 in absolute solitude. But her composure and peace remained unbroken. "What a season of delight and of ripening for heaven," writes Dr. Chalmers, "has my mother's old age turned out to her, who, in the absence of all foreign resources, enjoys a perpetual feast in the happy repose of her spirit on that Saviour whom she trusts—that God whom she feels to be reconciled to her." Writing to her son James after Helen's marriage, Mrs. Chalmers herself says,—"Since I last wrote you I have had several severe complaints. I am very frail and very infirm; but what a blessing it is that my memory and the faculties of my mind are as active as if I were twenty.* I bless God that it is so. I feel a pleasant contentment and peace of mind that the world cannot give nor take away. I amuse myself with working and reading. God is very good to me, who gives me a contented and happy frame of mind; and I trust my God will never leave nor forsake me, that when death comes He also will be with me, and give me good hopes through Jesus Christ our Lord."

* She was at this time in her 77th year.

Death came a few months afterwards, and all her hopes and prayers were answered in the manner of her departure—in her peaceful exchange of the solitude of an earthly dwelling for the presence of her Saviour and the society of the Redeemed.

"*Anstruther, February 7th,* 1827.—MY DEAR MR. MORTON,—I have the melancholy task of requesting that you will inform Jane of my mother's extreme illness. Dr. Goodsir sent an express late yesternight on the subject, and when Mrs. Chalmers and I arrived, we found her under severe sickness. We all think that she is hasting to her grave. But it is a mighty comfort that her mind is so filled with entire and peaceful assurance. She herself speaks of the love of her dying Saviour, and retains that deep and settled composure which has imparted so much serenity to the evening of her days. I shall inform you of her great change whenever that may be; meanwhile, I am compelled to write very shortly, from the number of letters which I have to send off, and the sleeplessness of last night. Mrs. Chalmers returned to St. Andrews this day, but we have the constant attendance of some of our friends from the manse of West Anstruther.

"THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Anstruther, February 9th.*—MY DEAR JAMES,—My mother still declines, though much easier than she was. Her struggle seems to be over, and there has now commenced apparently a process of gentle and gradual decay.

"My purpose in writing to-night is to obtain from you a letter, which, if it arrive in time, may act as a sedative to one of her smaller anxieties. She has all along been a person of the uttermost exactness, and she wants to be satisfied that you received for Mary a small marriage-present of £20 that she enclosed to you a week or two ago. Do let us know of this by return of post. She also sent her by the carrier a bundle of napery, inclosing an old family-piece in the heart of it—an old

silver jug which belonged to our grandfather. This may not yet have reached you; but the other should, and I beg that you will let us know of it.—THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Anstruther, February* 13*th.*—MY DEAR JAMES,—My mother received your letter and was much gratified therewith. She is freer of pain, and is so much easier that I and my wife would conceive that she is getting better. The doctor, however, represents her as in a state of sure though gradual decay. I have hitherto been with her every day, it being a possible thing for me, by help of a gig, both to be here all night, and to do the work of my classes in St. Andrews.—THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Anstruther, February* 14*th.*—MY DEAR JAMES,—Our excellent mother has at length breathed her last, and terminated a most useful and respectable life on a deathbed of piety. The decease took place at half-past eight this morning. She had received your letter yesterday, and as it was her day of greatest ease and conversation during the whole of her illness, she could be made to understand its contents, and was satisfied.

"Two days ago she stated the probability and indeed the propriety of your coming down here to look after your affairs. She adverted to the likelihood of your disposing of your property in this quarter; and with that minute and careful attention to business which characterized her through life, she even adverted to a likely purchaser.

"I at present have not strength to expatiate on the virtues of our dear parent, having all the arrangements to attend to, and not having been in bed last night. Let it suffice then to say, that, particularly towards the end of her days, her faith in the gospel grew apace, and this germinated the blessed fruits of righteousness in her heart and life."

"*Anstruther, February* 15*th*, 1827.—MY DEAR SIR,*—It is good to witness the struggles of a spirit breaking its way from

* Letter to Henry Paul, Esq.

the prison-house of the body to that eternity whither it looks with hopefulness; and it is good to have one's practical sense of the world's nothingness refreshed and stirred up anew by the sight of a deathbed.

"My mother's has been to me by far the most impressive deathbed I ever attended. The predominant feature of it has been the deep and immovable trust of her spirit upon the Saviour. This has been growing apace for some years, and it shed a singularly beautiful and quiet light over the evening of her days.—THOMAS CHALMERS."

The day after her decease, Dr. Chalmers jotted down what he has entitled "Memorabilia of my mother's death:"—

"The express that informed us of her illness came to St. Andrews with a letter from Dr. Goodsir after eleven on Tuesday night, the 6th of February 1827. Mrs. Chalmers, I, and Captain Thomas Pratt, went off in a chaise about an hour afterwards. Mrs. Chalmers made her four distinct visits in a chaise. I remained constantly at Anster, with the exception of three visits which I made in a gig to St. Andrews, and during each of which I taught both my classes.

"She repeatedly professed her trust in God, her trust in the Saviour, that she had taken God to be her friend, that she felt her corruption, but it did not shake her confidence.

"She said that her prayer was for exemption from pain previous to her death, that she might have ease when going out of the world, to think of the love of her dying Saviour.

"She felt the greatest earnestness about my wife's last visit, and had the utmost delight in her presence.

"She stated three several times that she was much satisfied with my brother's letter from London, which arrived the day before her death.

"She said that nothing did her good but prayers. When

asked whether she heard, her almost uniform reply was that she had heard every word, and that what she heard gave her great comfort.

"She spoke of herself as a great sinner, and of Christ as a great Saviour.

"My wife told her that my students had had a meeting, and requested that I should not leave my mother. She said that this was great kindness in them to her, but, indeed, that everybody was kind to her.

"She said to my wife that her wish had been fully gratified in her having seen her so much, and in her being so much with her during her last moments.

"She said to me a day or two before her death that her pains were supportable, and that the kindness of her friends made them more so.

"Her extreme symptoms did not come on till upwards of an hour after my wife and daughter Grace had left her, and for upwards of twelve hours after this she was in close conflict with death. I was called four different times to witness the extremity of her sufferings, but she revived for pretty long intervals from the three first attacks, and she sunk gradually for an hour from the commencement of the last.

"Her decisive symptoms of near dissolution appeared at eight on the evening of the 13th, and her death took place at half-past eight in the morning of the 14th of February.

"During this period she asked twice or thrice for a prayer. I repeated occasionally a verse of Scripture or the verse of a paraphrase; at length, however, she made it be understood that she had now become so confused that she could not follow me.

"She sent for me between nine and ten on the evening of the 13th, and wanted to speak with me alone. The conversation related to what she imagined a temptation of Satan.

"She said to me that she hoped we would meet in Heaven.

"She had been heard some days before repeating by herself the fifty-first paraphrase. I repeated to her the first verse of it a few days before her death; and though I could not follow her articulations, yet she was evidently reciting in the measure of the paraphrase, and I thought that I could recognise one word of a subsequent verse.

"The fiftieth, fifty-first, and, I think, sixty-first paraphrases were either recited by her during her illness, or read to her by her desire.

"I heard her say several times during the night that she was very ill.

"About seven hours before her death she was regarded to be so near dying that Dr. Goodsir shut her eyes.

"She spoke after this several times with great haleness, and made movements of considerable remaining strength.

"About half an hour before her death she audibly ordered the curtains to be drawn aside and the shutters opened.

"Let me not forget the look which she cast upon me when I lifted her into a sitting posture.

"After being adjusted to sit, she said audibly that it was fine.—'That's fine.'

"At the last she made an exhalation nearly as strong as a cough, after which there was a pause, which we conceived to be the pause of death. It lasted perhaps about a minute, but she resumed breathing, so as to give one or two distinct breaths, accompanied with a little spontaneous movement; there was then a final cessation; but, from the foregoing pause, we waited, and were not sure of death for one or two minutes.

"One of her latest articulations was—'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.'

"O God, teach me so to number my days that I may apply my heart unto wisdom, and at length die the death of the righteous.

"Let me cherish the remembrance of my mother in the vivid recollection of her dying scene. May I be enabled to sit loose to a world all whose cares and pleasures and triumphs but guide every child of Adam to the bed of his last agonies. I lifted her at times to a sitting posture, and in this attitude she had to be supported by Christy at her back, and on the head of the bed. There are some of her softer moanings of which my conception is as distinct as if they still vibrated on my ear, and they throw me into a state of inexpressible tenderness. It will be a good thing to recall them, and to be softened by the thought of them into charity and seriousness. There is a sacredness in the whole recollection which I want to preserve. I am now in frequent converse with her remains. That countenance that looked so ghastly in dying has a peace and loveliness in death which is pleasing to look upon. Oh may the hallowed remembrance of my dear mother guard my heart against every unlawful emotion, and may I bear to the end of my days an habitual regard for the memory of her who terminated her useful and respectable life on a deathbed of piety."

To a relation in Liverpool Dr. Chalmers writes as follows:—"I cannot say that in the whole course of my life I was ever called to be present at a more impressive occasion. The great and characteristic feature of the whole was the deep and immovable trust of her spirit upon the Saviour. During the latter period of her life there was a rapid and remarkable growth in her religious affections; and she at length enjoyed the settled repose of one rooted and grounded in the faith of the gospel. Hers at length was a perpetual feast of pleasing thoughts and pleasing emotions, and the serenity within was pictured forth on her whole aspect. She resisted our attempts to bring her forth of her solitude, preferring to reside in Anster by herself to being with us, even after all her family

had left her; and such was the sufficiency of her internal resources, that never was there spent a solitude of greater independence and greater enjoyment, divided as it was between little schemes of usefulness to the poor families around her, and those secret exercises of reading, and meditation, and prayer which have so ripened her for heaven. My impression of her in early life was, that she was more remarkable for the cardinal than the softer virtues of our nature. But age, and the power of Christianity together had mellowed her whole character; the mildness of charity and the peace which the world knoweth not threw a most beautiful and quiet light over the evening of her days."*

* See Appendix D.

CHAPTER X.

OFFER OF THE CHAIR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE LONDON UNIVERSITY—VISIT TO LONDON—MR. IRVING AND MR. COLERIDGE—GENERAL ASSEMBLY—CASE OF MR. M'LEOD OF BRACADALE—THE ROYAL COMMISSIONERS AT ST. ANDREWS—FIRST VISIT TO IRELAND—DERRY—THE GIANT'S CAUSEWAY—BELFAST—PUBLICATION OF A TREATISE ON LITERARY AND ECCLESIASTICAL ENDOWMENTS.

On the 26th February 1827, Dr. Chalmers received a letter from the Honorary Secretary to the Council of the London University, containing a proposal tantamount to an offer of the Chair of Moral Philosophy in that University. "This," he says, when noting the receipt of the letter in his Journal, "though many feelings and embryo purposes of my mind are against it, is not to be immediately rejected, but is altogether worthy of being entertained." He returned therefore the following reply:—

"St. Andrews, *February 28th*, 1827.

"My dear Sir,—I wish that your proposal could have come to me a twelvemonth later, for then I might have given, what I am not able to give now, an immediate and decisive answer. The truth is, that the Royal Commission are now prosecuting their inquiries upon Scottish Colleges, and I have been waiting with great interest the result, which will not transpire however sooner, I fear, than the beginning of the next year. They may place it on a footing so good that very few situations indeed could tempt me from the office of a Scotch professor; or they

may place it on a footing so bad that I should be glad to make my escape into another situation.

" But although in these circumstances I cannot make a decision, yet this need not prevent me from making an inquiry under the following heads :—

" 1*st*, How many months in the year must the professor of moral philosophy teach, and how many hours in the day?

" 2*d*, What are the likelihoods of a good attendance upon a purely didactic course, by a professor whose object would be instruction and not excitement, and who would not, for the sake of popular effect, depart from the rigour or the purity of a strict academic model? This question I hold to be the more important as I have heard there has been discovered of late a sluggishness among the London families towards this new university education; and as I feel further apprehensive that the spontaneous demand of the citizens will be inversely proportional to the arduousness of the topics, and the purely philosophical character of the prelections which one holds upon them.

" 3*d*, You may state, along with the salary and fees, what proportion of the daily work is expected to be expository, and what proportion of it examinational, or if the professor is left in these respects to his own discretion.

" 4*th*, Is the appointment for life, or only held so long as the professor gives satisfaction to the Council? I feel the more interested in this question that I fear I should stand peculiarly exposed to their dissatisfaction from my treatment of the science. I treat it not as a terminating but a rudimental science, a science which, instead of landing its disciples in so many dicta or positive doctrines, lands them in so many desiderata, for which an adjustment can only be found in the counterpart doctrines of the Christian theology. It is thus that along the ulterior extreme of the subject, I would erect,

not so many places of repose or of triumphant acquisition, but rather so many posts of observation, whence I cast a look of inquiry on the subjects that lie beyond it. In delineating this boundary it is impossible to refrain from noticing the adaptations of nature to Christianity, or from giving a general *exposé* of that economy which has been revealed to us from above, with its beneficent applications to the moral necessities of our species. It is thus, in fact, that I finish off at present, and I fear that such may be the antipathies of your Council to a bearing and a termination so very theological, that they might give rise to a mutual dissatisfaction painful to both parties.

"*5th*, Though your University (perhaps wisely) admits no formal course of theology within its scheme, would they object to one of its professors giving, either in his own class-room or elsewhere, a short quarterly course upon the subject, and by which in particular the students of moral philosophy might find their way to the Christian solution of many questions which their own science may have started but is unable to decide upon?

"I have only time to say, my dear Sir, that I feel grateful to you for your excellent letter, and am much honoured by the application contained in it. Your University will be of incalculable benefit not in superseding but in stimulating all the chartered Universities of the land,* and in bringing the most wholesome reflex influence to bear upon them."

At the time that this communication came from Dr. Coxe, Dr. Chalmers received from the Rev. Edward Irving an urgent invitation to open the new church then being erected for him in London. Compliance would enable him at once to gratify his friend, and to prosecute on the spot his inquiries respecting the character and prospects of the London University; Dr. Chalmers therefore accepted this invitation. As the church

* See *Dr. Chalmers's Works*, vol. xvii. p. 106.

was to be opened before the end of May, and as he was anxious not to be absent from the General Assembly, he could pay but a hurried visit to the metropolis in the interval between the close of the Session at St. Andrews, and the opening of the General Assembly in Edinburgh. On this occasion he travelled by sea.

"*Saturday, 5th May, Coast off Bamborough Head.*—It has been a day of glorious sunshine, and altogether I have enjoyed it exceedingly. I have had great conversations with many people, and, indeed, found the day go off most pleasantly without study, and purely on the strength of an interesting society. The deck has all the gaiety and animation of a fair. There are upwards of one hundred passengers, eighty of whom at least breakfast and dine together. Mr. Thomson of Duddingston, the minister and artist, is one of the party. We have great reason to be thankful to God for all his preservations. He has the power of these mighty elements in His hand; and what reason to bless Him for all His goodness and all His guardianship! I have studied almost none, and am not very fit for it, so interested am I in the evolutions of the English coast. * * * The scenery of St. Abb's Head was quite magnificent, consisting of a whole range of precipices.

"*Sunday, 6th May.*—Many applications for a sermon, and I was at length given by the captain to understand that the wish was quite general. I preached to upwards of one hundred in the cabin.

"*Monday, 7th May.*—Started about seven o'clock, and found ourselves a great way up the Thames. The shipping was quite magnificent, and the country very rich on both sides. The passage has been admirable: we left Newhaven at half-past seven on Saturday, we reached Blackwall at ten on Monday. This makes fifty and a half hours, from which, if you deduct the stoppage of more than four hours by the anchorage at Yar-

mouth, we have only been in motion about forty-six hours. * * * After dinner at Mr. Vertue's, Mr. Irving made his appearance, and took me to his house, where I drank tea. Mr. Miller and Mr. Maclean, Scottish ministers of the London Presbytery, were there. Their talk is very much of meetings and speeches: Irving though, is very impressive, and I do like the force and richness of his conversation.

"*Tuesday.*—I had a long conversation with Dr. Coxe. There is great relief in the information that the professors of the London University will not begin for a year and a half, that is, till Autumn 1828. I said to him that this rendered an immediate decision less necessary. He seemed anxious to bring me to some declaration that might encourage the hope of acceding to the proposal; but of this I took good care. Brougham knows of our correspondence, and is desirous, he says, of the arrangement. We parted from each other with the utmost cordiality. Got into a hackney coach: called on my way at a hatter's, where I got a twenty-seven shillinger. On to James's.

"*Wednesday.*—Studied about two hours, and proceeded to take a walk with James. We had just gone out when we met Mr. Irving. He begged of James the privilege of two or three hours in his house to study a sermon. I was vastly tickled with this new instance of the inroads of Scotchmen; however, James could not help himself, and was obliged to consent. We were going back to a family dinner, and I could see the alarm that was felt on the return of the great Mr. Irving, who was very easily persuaded to join us at dinner, and the study was all put to flight. There was not a single sentence of study all the time; and notwithstanding Mrs. C.'s alarm about the shabbiness of her dinner, everything went on most delightfully. Irving intermingled the serious and the gay, took a good hearty repast, and really charmed even James himself, so that I was very glad of the inroad that had been made upon him.

"*Thursday.*—Irving and I went to Bedford Square. Mr. and Mrs. Montague took us out in their carriage to Highgate, where we spent three hours with the great Coleridge. He lives with Dr. and Mrs. Gillman on the same footing that Cowper did with the Unwins. His conversation, which flowed in a mighty unremitting stream, is most astonishing, but, I must confess, to me still unintelligible. I caught occasional glimpses of what he would be at, but mainly he was very far out of all sight and all sympathy. I hold it, however, a great acquisition to have become acquainted with him. You know that Irving sits at his feet, and drinks in the inspiration of every syllable that falls from him. There is a secret and to me as yet unintelligible communion of spirit betwixt them, on the ground of a certain German mysticism and transcendental lake-poetry which I am not yet up to. Gordon* says it is all unintelligible nonsense, and I am sure a plain Fife man as uncle 'Tammas,' had he been alive, would have pronounced it the greatest *buff* he had ever heard in his life.†

"*Friday.*—Mr. Irving conducted the preliminary service in the National Church. There was a prodigious want of tact in the length of his prayer, forty minutes, and altogether it was an hour and a half from the commencement of the service ere I began. After I came down met a number of acquaintances in the vestry. * * * The dinner took place at five o'clock —many speeches—Mr. Irving certainly errs in the outrunning of sympathy.

"*Sunday, 13th May.*—Walked with Mr. Vertue, in whose house I am staying, to church. The crowd gathered and grew,

* The Rev. Dr. Gordon of Edinburgh.

† Returning from this interview, Dr. Chalmers remarked to Mr. Irving upon the obscurity of Mr. Coleridge's utterances, and said, that for his part he liked to see all sides of an idea before taking up with it. "Ha!" said Mr. Irving in reply, "you Scotchmen would handle an idea as a butcher handles an ox. For my part, I love to see an idea looming through the mist."

and the church was filled to an overflow. Lord Bexley still in the place where he was on Friday; Mr. Peel was beside him on Friday. Lord Farnham, Lord Mandeville, Mr. Coleridge, and many other notables whom I cannot recollect, among my hearers. Coleridge I saw in the vestry both before and after service; he was very complimentary. Walked towards Swallow Street, where I was to preach in the afternoon. Found ourselves in danger of being late, and got into a hackney, whose stupid driver, ignorant of Swallow Street, paraded us through a number of cross and alternate streets, to our great dismay. We had at length to leave him, and run in breathless agitation, till at length we found the place a quarter after the hour. I preached to a full chapel. At half-past six to Mr. Irving's church, where I heard Dr. Gordon. He, too, had a very full church.

"*Monday.*—Breakfasted with Strachan*—Duncan there, and Mr. James Stephens, a very literary man, and high in office; Dr. S., Mr. D., and I went forth after breakfast, in the first place to the Courts at Westminster Hall, where I was much interested by the aspect of the various Judges, who looked very picturesque; then towards Covent Garden, where Cobbett and Hunt were to address the people on politics. I had a view of their persons, but was excessively anxious to hear their speeches. There was a ladder set up from the street to the flat roof of a *low* house, which every person who paid a shilling had the privilege of going to. Duncan would not ascend, I and Strachan did, but on the moment of our doing so the peace-officers came and dispersed the speakers: Duncan enjoyed our disappointment vastly, and we felt that a fool and his money were soon parted. We followed the crowd in the

* The Very Rev. Dr. Strachan, now Bishop of Toronto, who, along with Mr. Duncan, ranked as one of Dr. Chalmers's earliest and most intimate acquaintances at St. Andrews, and with whom he kept up a most cordial intercourse through life.

hope of hearing them somewhere else, but all we got was a sentence or two from Gale Jones. I was under the necessity of going to dine at Mr. Frere's at two. He is the person to whom Mr. Irving dedicates his book on Prophecy. There I met Mr. Irving and Dr. Gordon,—all this was preparatory to our going into Parliament. Lord Mandeville and Mr. Kennedy had both been interested in our favour, and we obtained seats, not in the gallery, but under it, and were perfectly in view of the House. I was greatly interested, and must say that I was treated in a very kind and gentlemanly way. A number of my parliamentary acquaintances came up to me, and shewed me every attention, such as * * *. Mr. Maxwell brought up to me Mr. Peel, who sat for ten minutes beside me, and held with me a deal of kind conversation respecting the College Commission, pauperism, my sermons, all of which he had read, &c. Wilmot Horton, also, the Under-Secretary of the Colonies, came up and introduced himself, and with him I had to talk of emigration.

" *Tuesday.*—Hired a chaise for the day, and made fifteen calls. Crossed the Thames at Waterloo Bridge, where I called on Lady Radstock: it was a very pleasant ten minutes' call—they were full of kindness. Visited the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, (formerly Gloucester,) where I dined. All was cordiality. My old friend Mr. Hale, by a previous arrangement, came with his carriage at ten. We did not sit down to dinner till eight. I was glad to be taken off by him on this fatiguing day; he drove me to his house at Homerton. I speedily got to bed, and was glad of so much bustle being terminated.

" *Thursday.*—After an early dinner was conducted by Mrs. Vertue so far as to be within knowledge of the Poet's Corner, where I called on Mr. Frere, who conducted me in about half an hour to the lobby of the House of Commons, where, by assignation, I met Mr. Macaulay. We had to wait for some time till we got a member to take us into the House, which was

done by Mr. William Smith for me in the first instance, after which Mr. Macaulay got another introduction and joined me. In the lobby met my old acquaintance Mr. Whitmore, M.P.: we were disappointed as to the debate, it having been postponed, and the topics of discussion were comparatively of smaller interest, as spring-guns, and others. However, we got a sight of more of the speakers, as Sir Francis Burdett, and some more. Mr. Brougham spoke a little, he came and talked with me in a way that was very friendly and interesting. He said nothing however about the University; and my impression now is, that rather than risk any discouragement they will wait the progress of events, more especially as they have time for waiting. This leaves the matter in the best possible state for me.

"*Saturday*, 19*th*.—Mr. Gordon informed me that yesternight Mr. Irving preached on his prophecies at Hackney Chapel for two hours and a half, and though very powerful, yet the people were dropping away, when he, Mr. I., addressed them on the subject of their leaving him. I really fear lest his prophecies, and the excessive length and weariness of his services, may unship him altogether, and I mean to write him seriously upon the subject. There were a number of citizens who dined along with us between eight and nine, all of them took leave, and between nine and ten I got into a hackney, then into a wherry, and then into the City of Edinburgh steamboat.

"*Sunday*, 20*th*.—I preached as before by request, and had much attention and kindness shewn to me. Captain Dewar a very civil fellow. There are not above fifty passengers. I think this is a smaller boat than the James Watt, but on the whole very comfortable.

"*Monday*, 21*st*.—Have got upon the best footing with all the passengers. I draw chiefly to Allan the painter. I have employed myself in preparation for the *Bracadale* case this day.

"*Tuesday*, 22*d*.—Took many a kind leave. The Captain

very civil indeed. Anchored about three-quarters of a mile from Newhaven. Was the first to get into the first boat. The manager of the steamboat, I should have mentioned, shocked me very much by the news of Dr. Nicol having had a paralytic attack in the General Assembly on Friday, and I observe by the newspapers that he has never been absent from the deliberations. This is an impressive event.

"*Wednesday*, 23*d*.—Called on Sir Harry Moncreiff—afterwards went to the General Assembly. It was arranged that the Plurality question should not be discussed. Sir Harry was to move and I to second, which we did accordingly, but as we were debarred from entering into the merits of the case, we both said but a few words. A counter motion was set up, which really did not differ from ours, but it served to try the strength of parties; we lost by a majority of eighteen, the smallest, however, that we ever lost by in any division upon the question. The Lord Justice-Clerk, the Solicitor, and all the official dignitaries were upon our side.

"*Tuesday*, 24*th*.—I met Mr. Tait in company with Mr. M'Leod of Bracadale, whose case comes on this day, and his agent, M'Donald. I talked with them a good deal, and find Mr. M'Leod a little *dour* and impracticable. You know that I have written him on the subject of his baptisms, and without any effect. The discussion on the *Bracadale* case occupied us till about seven. Cockburn gave an admirable speech for M'Leod, mine, which I myself thought about the worst, is said to be the best I ever delivered in the Assembly.* I spoke last, for immediately after I had done the Solicitor-General rose with a middle motion, between that which would have landed in the deposition of him, and that which we supported. It was to appoint four clergymen, Sir Harry Moncreiff, Dr. Cook, Dr. Taylor, and myself, a committee to deal with him and to re-

* See Appendix E.

port, so that our business with him is not yet over, and extremely doubtful from the man's own obstinacy. The result hitherto, in regard to myself, has been as formerly, resolving not to speak, and to leave the Assembly altogether beforehand, and yet, after all, obtaining an unexpectedly prosperous deliverance. Dr. Haldane does exceedingly well as Moderator; he is most attentive to me.

"*Friday.*—Called on Sir Harry Moncreiff, who has appointed me to meet with Mr. M'Leod previous to the meeting of the committee. We have carried Mr. M'Leod most satisfactorily through the Assembly. I rejoice that I came down from London; I am getting with many the credit of his deliverance. Mr. M'Leod appeared at three: I conversed with him an hour and a half. It is a great matter to make an impression upon him ere he comes before the regular committee. He is much oppressed, yet I do not despair of him. Went at eight to Sir Harry's, where, according to appointment, we met Mr. M'Leod, and had another preparatory conversation with him, whence to Waterloo Hotel, where we had our Assembly supper, and kept it up with toasts and speeches till two in the morning. Dr. Baird presided, Lord Glenorchy was croupier of the central table, M'Leod of M'Leod croupier on his one hand, and I croupier on his other. Dr. Baird put two toasts into my hand before sitting down. This I complained of at the outset of my speech, and the more especially, said I, that I had ever since given my whole time and attention to the carving of an immense turkey and the other duties of a most weighty croupiership. This produced a laugh, and I got on tolerably. Professor Wilson there.

"*Saturday, 26th.*—Walked first to Sir Harry's. Had just time to swallow my two cups of tea before our final conference began. At ten were joined by the other two members, the Moderates of the committee. Had pretty *tough* work for a time

both with M'Leod and with one another, and at length brought him to a declaration by which he compromised no principle whatever, and only acknowledged himself to be wrong in a matter merely legal and *formal*, which he certainly was. This declaration carried him most triumphantly through the Assembly. The Moderates rejoiced over him as a stray sheep, and we were all very happy and harmonious on the occasion."

The Rev. Roderick M'Leod, who had been settled as minister of the parish of Bracadale in September 1823, refused to administer baptism to so many children that in the course of two years and a half the number of unbaptized infants in his parish amounted to about fifty, while during the same period only seven had been admitted to the ordinance. The Presbytery of Skye, on the first appeal made to them by one of the dissatisfied parishioners, after examination of the parent as to qualification, ordered Mr. M'Leod to baptize the child. This he refused to do, and on a reference of the case, the General Assembly of 1824 approved of the conduct of the Presbytery, and enjoined them "to take care that the ordinance of baptism be duly administered in the parish of Bracadale." In consequence of this injunction the Presbytery visited the parish—examined a number of the parents to whose children baptism had been denied—administered the rite by one of their own number to some of the unbaptized, and, in one particular case, enjoined Mr. M'Leod to baptize. With this order he refused compliance, on which the Presbytery proceeded, at a meeting held on the 5th May 1826, to suspend him for two months from the office of the ministry. Against that decision Mr. M'Leod himself neglected to protest and appeal. This having been done, however, by another member of Presbytery, the matter came again before the Supreme Ecclesiastical Court, and the General Assembly of 1826, after a long and animated debate, affirmed the sentence of the Presbytery, and

renewed their former instructions, with directions "to restore Mr. M'Leod to the full exercise of his ministerial functions so soon as he expresses his willingness to conduct himself in a manner becoming a dutiful son of the Church." The Presbytery having failed to obtain that satisfaction from Mr. M'Leod which they conceived themselves entitled to exact, proceeded to serve him with a libel inferring deposition. This was felt by many members of the Church to be a summary and severe mode of dealing with scruples which, however narrow or ill-grounded, were the scruples of a devout and conscientious clergyman. They were anxious that all the gentler methods of remonstrance should be exhausted before such a minister was cut off from the Church. It was mainly the interest which Dr. Chalmers took in this case which brought him from London to Edinburgh. And he had the satisfaction, in conjunction with the other members of the Committee which the General Assembly of 1827 appointed to confer with Mr. M'Leod, to obtain from him the following declaration:—"With reference to the impression that the discussions concerning my conduct have produced, as to my holding views and principles inconsistent with the laws and constitution of the Church of Scotland, I now declare my conviction that the same are agreeable to the word of God, and my entire willingness to obey them, and my decided resolution to adhere to them, without any mental reservation or qualification whatever; and that as I took no appeal I acted wrong in disobeying the injunctions of the inferior Court." On this declaration being laid before it, the General Assembly unanimously agreed "that the whole process relating to Mr. M'Leod is now at an end, and that there is no room for any further proceedings."

Dr. Chalmers returned from Edinburgh to St. Andrews to prepare for the visit of the Royal Commissioners which was now impending. The different professors of the University

were to be called personally before the Board, and by their individual examination the most searching scrutiny was to be made into all University affairs, embracing, of course, an inquiry into those topics on which Dr. Chalmers had unfortunately disagreed with his colleagues. It was an occasion of great excitement to Dr. Chalmers.

"*July* 31*st.*—Went to the University Library, where we received the Commissioners. No little agitation. We are all on tip-toe. O Heavenly Father, strengthen me! Save me from my own spirit. Deliver me from the fear of man which is a snare. Embolden me to say all that I should afterwards regret if left unsaid. Give me, Thy unworthy instrument, to speak for the cause of truth and righteousness. Let me be first upright, and then as innocent as possible of giving offence. From Thee are the preparations of the heart; from Thee also, O God, the answer of the mouth is.

"*August* 1*st.*—Another day of expectancy and excitement.

"2*d.*—My own examination upwards of five hours. Great blandness on the part of the Commission, though an evident reluctance to draw me out on the controverted topics. I however let myself out on them, though at the expense of that fulness and explicitness wherewith I might otherwise have delivered myself on the general topics of education and my own courses. These I shall perhaps supplement in writing.

"4*th.*—My dear friend Duncan examined this day, and I again before the Commission.* They seemed resolved not to ask me another question on controverted topics. I was upwards of half an hour before them, during which I reported

* "You may tell, that when Mr. Duncan came out from his examination, which lasted an hour and a half, I took him by both his hands, and danced to him with the song, 'I've gotten my surds, and I've gotten my geometry, and am now as licht as a lavrock.'"—*Letter from Dr. Chalmers, dated August* 6, 1827.

the result of the inquiries which they had set me to, corrected and supplemented my former testimony, and left them with an earnest assurance, and a short but solemn address on the state of ecclesiastical matters in the College of St. Andrews."

Dr. Chalmers was not satisfied with conveying his ideas on the "General topics of Education," in the form of answers to such questions as University Commissioners might propose. He had already resolved to present to the public the conclusions to which his inquiries had conducted him, in the shape of a treatise on the Use and Abuse of Literary and Ecclesiastical Endowments. He had commenced this treatise before going up to London in May—he was engaged on it when the Royal Commissioners came to St. Andrews—and he resumed it after their departure. In the month of September it suffered a temporary suspension by his going to Belfast, to open a new church which had been recently erected there, to meet the wants of a rapidly increasing population. It was his first visit to Ireland, and we present our readers with a few extracts from his Journal Letters.

"*Tuesday, 18th September.*—We set off from Glasgow between ten and eleven, quite calm in the morning, but it got breezy and showery as the day advanced. I was greatly delighted at the sight of Rothesay, Port Bannatyne, Castle Toward, and the Kyles of Bute. Before we got out of the Kyles it became dark. We had dined before we reached them, and enjoyed the scenery vastly, and I strained my eyes at it till it was no longer visible, and have just returned to the cabin and have written to you all that is on this page. The water is tolerably calm at present in our land-locked situation, but we have the prospect of its being pretty rough after we have left the Mull of Cantyre when on the open sea for Ireland. I felt exceedingly hot, and got upon deck between one and two. We were then at anchor in Campbelton Loch, having experienced some

severe gales, and the wind blowing too hard at the time for persisting in our voyage.

"*Wednesday, 19th September.*—Started at six. Mr. Paul shewed me his father-in-law's house at Campbelton. Much pleased with a scene that I remembered thirty-one years ago. A clear morning, with rather a strong breeze. Sailed along the Cantyre coast till we got to the Mull, where we had a most sickening breeze, and all of us were fairly overcome by it. However, I blended enjoyment in the scenery with the pains of the sickness, and had a very complete view of the Mull; then went to bed till we should get to the Irish coast. The captain was most kind, and called me whenever aught was to be seen, and in this way saw Fair-Head and the Giant's Causeway, and never tasted the delights of nature's scenery with greater relish. The beauty without me gave me the utmost pleasure in spite of the working from within. The Causeway itself, as an object, is insignificant, but the precipices on both sides, crystallized and shooting into pinnacles, so as to give the appearance of lofty cathedrals at some places, are truly imposing. Went to bed for two or three hours till we entered the Foyle, where we got into smooth water, and had a most delightful sail of perhaps about twenty miles to Londonderry. The small party-coloured ridges of diverse crop and cultivation announced that extreme subdivision of occupancy in the land which is so baneful to Ireland. The approach to the town is very interesting, and the town itself, one of great historical note, placed on a rising ground, and with a lofty cathedral spire, has quite the air of a most respectable provincial metropolis.

"We were received by Mr. Hay. He took us first to the cathedral renewed, but inferior to the average of English cathedrals. Had it not been so dark (now after six) we would have gone to the top of the spire for a prospect. Instead of this, we went completely round the wall, which is quite entire, and the

top of which forms a spacious walk all round the city, which is very genteel and handsome. We left about eight o'clock for Newtown-Limavady, thirteen Irish or seventeen English miles off.

"*Thursday*, 20*th*.—Started at six, but we had a specimen of Irish punctuality in not getting off till an hour after the stipulated time, or half-past seven. I may here mention a specimen of Irish furniture, in that to make the bedroom look a little more respectable, the fragments of a chair were put together into the inviting semblance of a whole one, on which I tried to sit, but came speedily to the ground, with the expense of a pretty severe ruffling on the skin of my left arm, which had to be a little bandaged. A various road to Coleraine, which we reached after ten. We had here a specimen of Irish tackling, in that the carriage gave way at the turn of a street, and swung on a broken stay to within a few inches of the ground. We came out, and walked on to the inn kept by Miss Henry. She soon learned that it was I, and shewed uncommon kindness. We breakfasted there, and went off about twelve. Miss Henry packed our carriage, which was a chaise, with provisions, for which she took nothing. She is literary, well-disposed, and had read my works. We were now forced to tear ourselves away from all her attentions, and spent the most interesting day I ever recollect. I perfectly rioted upon the scenery. There had been books sent to me from Belfast and Londonderry, which furnished all the requisite information. I there met with the name of Mr. Traill as a residenter at this place, and it reminded me of a kind invitation I had received from him to be his guest when visiting the Giant's Causeway. It was too late to think of this now, and I sent him an apologetical letter upon the subject. The objects of this day's excursion were most singularly beautiful and interesting, as Craig-a-Haller, a precipice faced with regular columns; Dunluce Castle, built on a projecting rock, underneath which there was a cave open at both ends, which we

entered from the land side till we got to the margin of the sea; Port Coon Cave is a most magnificent marine cave, which we contrived to enter by a side aperture, and placing ourselves at the inner extremity, looked to the waves as they rolled in succession from its mouth, towards and nearly to the place on which we were standing. We were followed by a troop of Irishmen with specimens and curiosities which they obtruded upon us. Mr. Paul kept them at bay, and became a favourite among them. They were incessant in their offers of services, and we got quit of them at last by parting a few shillings among them. One of them fired a pistol in foresaid cave, which made a noble echo. We then passed through a succession of very marvellous scenes, as the Giant's Causeway, which exceeded all my previous conceptions of it, not however as a picturesque object, but as a work of apparent art and arrangement by the hand of nature, and with nature's rudest materials. Besides the main causeway, there are smaller ones, and other regular depositions of rock, giving rise to the appellations of the Honey Comb, the Giant's Loom, the Organ, &c., &c. I was far more in ecstasy than about Stonehenge, for additionally to the crystalline exhibitions, there was in the precipices to the east of the Causeway the finest marine or rock scenery that I ever witnessed. We climbed up these with great boldness, for our admiration of the spectacle had displaced fear in a great measure. We went along the brow of the precipitous range, which, with its recesses and promontories, formed the most interesting walk of three miles or so I ever traversed. There is one point in particular—Plaiskine, the view from which I place before all others that I ever witnessed in the course of my existence. The face of the precipice exhibits vast ranges of basalt in stately columns, which have all the regularity of masonry. I at this period dropped a book, and did not miss it till about a mile onwards. Two little Irish boys ran in quest

of it, and brought it to me in triumph, for which service they of course got their reward. We had two guides: one would have sufficed, but we had spoken by mistake to two, and each insisting on his right, we could adjust it in no other way than by taking both. The service of our important followers cost us altogether about twenty shillings. At the end of our walk we recovered our carriage about seven at night; it came forward to meet us. We got on to Ballycastle, eight Irish miles further, after a very tedious drive.

"*Friday.*—Started at five: made an excursion in a chaise to Fair-Head, about four miles off. Got three boys as guides to take us to the tremendous crags of this famous north-east promontory of Ireland. Walked along the brink of the awful extended precipice, about 450 feet above the level of the sea, which rolled beneath. Looked fearfully over at different places on the beach below. Most magnificent columns, of a ruder basalt, however, than at the Giant's Causeway, the scenery of which, though not so majestic as that at Fair-Head, is infinitely more various, and picturesque, and beautiful. At one part of Fair-Head there is the 'Grey Mare's Path,' which we descended about half-way; but the wetness of the morning and the slipperiness of the path, together with the want of time, prevented us from going to the bottom, where we might have had a full view of the vast precipice impending over us. However, as it was, we saw enough to fill and solemnize us. Our three guides were Catholics, and we entered upon a religious conversation with them, of which I have taken down some notes of the things that interested me. Instead of pursuing our route by the coast, I wished to see Gracehill. We first stopped at a small place called Cloughmills, where the horses were fed; we ourselves went into the house occupied by a peasant farmer, whose family were Catholics. We ate of their potatoes, and had a good deal of conversation and insight at

this place. Resumed our drive to Ballymena, at which place we arrived between five and six.

"*Saturday.*—Dr. Patrick went before us to announce to the good people of Gracehill our immediate purpose to visit them, though but for a few minutes. How interesting, my dear G., to think that he is the identical physician who attended your mother in her dying moments. We followed him in a chaise from Ballymena, and reached Gracehill about six. I don't know if you recollect the beauty of the town of Ballymena, and the surpassing beauty of Gracehill itself. We stopped for a moment at the inn, but drove on to the Brethren's house, where we were received by Mr. Essex, the governor of the Institution. The light was decaying, and my first inquiry was after your mother's tomb. It is placed near the middle of the churchyard, and I would say almost at the summit of it; the churchyard slopes a little on all sides from the centre. The inscription is quite entire, and I have copied it for you. I write it down here in the order of the lines:—

UNDERNEATH
REST THE REMAINS
OF
MRS. ANNE PRATT,
WHO
DEPARTED THIS LIFE
JULY 20TH, 1800,
AGED 42 YEARS.
"BLESSED ARE THE DEAD
WHO DIE IN THE LORD."

You may guess my feelings, and the very powerful interest which an association like this gives with me to the whole establishment. The whole scene is in character, and though seen only through the dimness of twilight, I could perceive it to be greatly more beautiful than Fulneck, with its rows of

plantation, and fields of tasteful cultivation, and houses of far greater modesty and neatness than in the more showy establishment of Yorkshire. Mr. Essex then took me to the Brethren's house, first to his own apartment, and secondly to that of the Bishop—he is a little, oldish man, but with much of the cheerfulness and withal simplicity of his sect. He received me most kindly, and we were soon joined by the other ecclesiastics of the place, to the number of five or six. One of them told me that he had written to St. Andrews a letter, which of course I did not receive, and which you must have seen some time ago. I was much pleased with the respectable and even elegant sufficiency apparent in the rooms and dress of these clergymen. They were on the eve of commencing their chapel service, and they requested me to give an exhortation, which I felt myself, from extreme fatigue, compelled to decline. This disappointed, I afterwards learned from them, my two companions, Dr. Young and Mr. Paul; and indeed, as it turned out, I was greatly disappointed myself. I would have been soon enough at Belfast though I had staid all night at Gracehill; and I do excessively regret that I did not send back our chaise to Ballymena, and spend the evening among the prayers and conversations of these excellent men. It is the only blunder which I have committed in Ireland. An hour in the gloaming was certainly not enough for acquitting myself of all I felt and wished in reference to Gracehill; however, what with fatigue, and what with an imagined necessity to be at Belfast before breakfast, we did hurry ourselves away. I took leave of the Bishop; then went to the Lady who sells articles of dress. Mr. Paul and I bought watch-papers, and not only so, but I purchased collars for you and Anne, and he purchased one for Mrs. Paul. We were then conducted to your school and boarding-house; were taken through some of the apartments, and on going forth from this house met the young

ladies on their way from the chapel. It was now about dark, so that I could not distinguish faces; I was introduced, however, in spite of this, to Miss Brownlee, one of the teachers. I had previously inquired whether there were any that had been long enough employed at Gracehill to recollect you, and Miss Brownlee said that she remembered the two Miss Pratts perfectly, and that she also knew your mother and Mrs. General Leslie. It seems your mother died at Ballymena, but that, from her love to the place and people of Gracehill, she expressed a wish to be buried there. I turned myself away from these bowers of sacredness, and we got into our carriage for Antrim. Met with the most provoking stops and hindrances on the road; a sullen driver, and, as he pretended, overdone horses. We had to take them out at a place, and to pull the chaise up the hill with our own hands. Could get no farther than Randalstown.

"*Saturday.*—Started about five. On our road to Antrim drove through the pleasure grounds of Shanes Castle, belonging to Lord O'Neill. It was burnt some years ago. Its remains have a picturesque appearance on the banks of the great Lough Neagh, whose mighty expanse of waters I surveyed with great interest. I left the carriage and went round the ruins, then down to the margin of the Lough, and there lapped the waters of this great inland sea, on which fishing-boats were sailing, and where the waves were breaking on the shore, as if it had been the brink of an ocean. We thence drove to Antrim, where, after all, we breakfasted, which we might easily have done though we had come from Gracehill; but let me dismiss all my reflections upon this subject. We breakfasted with Mr. Macgill, a Presbyterian clergyman, quite a rattle, and the most characteristic Irishman I have yet met with. We got away from him about ten, in our chaise for Belfast, which we reached between twelve and one. A fine country between the two

places, and I was much pleased with the view both of Carrickfergus Bay, and the Cave Hill to the north of Belfast, with fine projecting crags. Landed at Mr. Thomson's, whose wife is the cousin of the Grahams and Patisons of Glasgow, and really a very domestic and kindly person. The house was quite thronged with callers. Dined at Professor Thomson's, after having reposed and written at some length in the easy and comfortable bedroom which has been assigned to me. Several at dinner, among others Professor Cairns of the Logic, whom I think a very interesting person. His Mrs. Cairns is Scotch, and also very pleasant; and, on the whole, I spent one of the most agreeable days I have had since leaving home.

"*Sunday.*—A vast number of the ministers and preachers of the Synod of Ulster have been introduced to me. Dr. Cooke I think the most impressive of them all. About twelve the sitters began to assemble—they were admitted by three-shilling tickets. The house was full, and a great crowd was at the door. They could not get admittance, so that, though some sat in the passages, they were not crowded.

"*Monday.*—Rose at half-past six. Mr. Craig of Dromara, the minister who came over to Glasgow to solicit a sermon from me, joined us at eight, when we breakfasted. He drove me to his place in a gig, fourteen Irish miles from Belfast. After him came out Mr. Paul and Mr. Thomson, in a car also belonging to Mr. Craig. Passed Lisburn, where Archdeacon Trail lives, and Hillsborough, the seat of the Marquis of Downshire. A pour of rain nearly all the way, in spite of which many ministers came from Belfast and elsewhere to hear me, and we had a full congregation. The Marquis of Downshire and Mr. Paul were joint collectors after service; he had previously invited him and me to dine with him to-day, but as he did not dine till seven, this allowed us to take a previous dinner with Mr. Craig, who had asked about twenty people to meet us with

him. The parish rector had also invited me by letter to dine with him, but this I was obliged to decline; I however saw him at the chapel, as well as his father, the translator of Dante, and some ladies, the friends of Lord Roden; he is absent from the country just now, or I should in all probability have seen him. I had an immense number of introductions at this place, and have had a prodigious quantity of letters to write declining invitations, more especially from Dublin; one of my correspondents there alleged promises, and another an engagement, both of which I protested against in my replies. We left Mr. Craig's crowded dining-room in a car furnished by him for Hillsborough, which brought us six miles nearer to Belfast. We arrived at the Marquis's gate about seven, and had a small quiet company, where I enjoyed real repose, in that freedom from urgency, and that stillness of conversation and manner which are often illustrative of high life.

"*Tuesday.*—Went to Belfast by a different road from that of yesterday, which led us through a beautiful country in high cultivation, and abounding in sweet and interesting scenes; got to Belfast before ten. Preached at half-past one in the new chapel;* got the Moderator of the Synod to do all the rest of the service. A very wet day, yet an overflowing church, and a collection of fifty guineas. Altogether I have made for them £441.

"*Wednesday.*—Started at eight. Breakfasted in Dr. Hanna's with at least twenty people. A very magnificent déjeuner, with flowers in the centre. All were exceedingly kind to me, and at Mr. Thomson's† I have had deputations innumerable—nothing, in fact, can be more cordial and flattering than the attentions of all classes here. I had invitations innumerable both from Belfast and its neighbourhood for this day, but I resolved to accept of the one that would be least fatiguing,

* Fisherwicke Place Church.

† Afterwards Professor of Mathematics in the University of Glasgow.

which was to Mr. Reid,* Presbyterian minister of Carrickfergus, eight Irish miles off. He, his father-in-law, Mr. Arrot, surgeon of this place, Dr. Young, Mr. Paul, and myself, got into an Irish car about twelve. Got on to Carrickfergus by about two. The tackling gave way in two or three instances. This is a famous historical place, and at the harbour we stood on the identical spot where King William first put his foot on Irish ground. It had been raining for about an hour, so we returned to Mr. Reid's house, where we got an easy, merry, kind-hearted reception, and staid all night. I was somewhat *douff*, but brightened up after supper, had singing and laughing in abundance. Dr. Young a very pleasant fellow, with great powers of entertainment.

"*Thursday.*—Started at six. Meant to have gone off at seven, but found the kind people in the parlour with a breakfast ready for us. Reid himself a clever superior man. The ladies evinced much feeling on our departure, and altogether it formed a very interesting visit. At Belfast I took leave of the excellent family; Mr. and Mrs. Thomson, however, came down in the car with us: they have treated me with the utmost affection, and I love both them and their children."

On his return to St. Andrews Dr. Chalmers resumed his work on Endowments, and completed it with the close of the year. As might have been anticipated, from the circumstances under which it was drawn up, a large portion of this volume was occupied with the existing condition of the Scottish Universities. A century had wrought great changes in the state of general society in Scotland, and had prepared the way, as Dr. Chalmers thought, for some corresponding changes in the methods of University education. The chief use of the Universities had been to serve as nurseries for the Church. From the smallness of the livings in the Scottish Establishment it

* Now Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow.

was difficult at first to induce a sufficient number of properly qualified persons to enter the Church—the demand was greater than the supply. To ensure as many candidates as possible for the sacred office, the university curriculum was adapted to those whose pecuniary resources were limited, the undergraduate course being spread over four years, and the Theological over an equal number, while the whole period of annual collegiate attendance was confined to one continuous session of six months' duration. On entering college the student was subjected to no preliminary examination. It was required that he should be acquainted with the rudiments of the Latin, but he might be, and he generally was, altogether ignorant of the Greek language. The junior Latin class in a Scottish university scarcely ranked higher in its exercises than the head form in any of the best English schools, while the Professor of Greek had to begin his pupils with the alphabet of that tongue. But the circumstances of the country had now altered. Outside the universities higher schools were rising up where a more advanced preparatory education could be attained. The need of adapting the Universities to the necessities of the Church existed no longer, there being now four or five times a greater number of candidates for churches than there were churches open for their admission. Without any danger of unduly lessening the supply, the standard of initiatory qualification might be greatly elevated. And it was here that Dr. Chalmers urged a reformation. The great and radical defect of the existing collegiate system of Scotland he conceived to lie in this, that youths were taken too soon from school and sent too early to college, and that the college suffered thus by being turned into a school. He proposed, therefore, that a gymnasium, or school of the highest grade, in which mathematics and the classics should be taught by one or more tutors, with salaries higher than those of the ordinary schoolmaster,

and lower than those of the professor, should be attached to each of the universities; that by these tutors all such instructions should be supplied as had been hitherto communicated in the earlier Latin, Greek, and mathematical classes of the university; that in order to test that capability of translating the simpler Latin and Greek authors, and that acquaintance with the elements of geometry, which should be required of every student before admission to the university, an entrance-examination should be instituted. He did not propose that attendance upon the gymnasia connected with the colleges should be made imperative. It would be sufficient if the candidate for entrance proved himself to be possessed of the necessary qualifications, whether these had been attained under the training of the college tutors or under any ordinary schoolmaster. The effect of such an arrangement would be not only to raise to a higher level the course of university education, but to give a stimulus to the whole scholastic system of the country, the grammar-schools of our larger towns striving to rival the gymnasia, and many of the provincial teachers fired with the honourable ambition of sending forth pupils prepared to pass the entrance-examination without any other education than the school of their native place had furnished. Whatever may now be thought of the particular method thus suggested by Dr. Chalmers, it can scarcely be doubted that in exposing the low standard of the preparatory scholarship he laid his hand upon the most conspicuous defect of the Scottish collegiate system, and whether his remedy for the evil be the best or not, it is matter of surprise that twenty years and more have been suffered to elapse since it was proposed without a remedy of any kind being adopted. During this period great advances have been made in the higher schools of the country, but within the walls of the universities no alteration as to the junior classes has been attempted.

In comparing the English and Scottish Universities, Dr.

Chalmers readily admits that there had been too much of mere lecturing and too little of effective teaching in the latter; but while conceding to the former a great superiority in the arts and methods by which pupils were trained to distinguished scholarship, in one or two separate departments, he claims for the universities of his native land the credit and the honour of embracing a larger and more varied compass of instruction, and of having diffused a taste for literature and science more generally throughout the country. Regarded as mere organs of communicating what was already known, the Scotch colleges could not compete with the English in the two branches of classics and pure science, and yet they had made more direct and more important contributions to the general literature of their country. "The truth is," says Dr. Chalmers, "that greatly more than half the distinguished authorship of our land is professorial; and, till the present generation, we scarcely remember, with the exception of Hume in philosophy, and Thomson in poetry, any of our eminent writers who did not achieve, or at least germinate, all their greatest works while labouring in their vocation of public instructors in one or other of our universities. Nay, generally speaking, these publications were the actual product of their labour in the capacity of teachers, and passed into authorship through the medium of their respective chairs. Whatever charges may have been preferred against the methods of university education in Scotland, it is at least fortunate for the literary character of our nation, that the professors have not felt, in conducting the business of their appointments, as if they were dealing altogether with boys. To this we owe the manly and original and independent treatment which so many of them have bestowed on their appropriate sciences, and by which they have been enabled to superadd one service to another. They have not only taught philosophy; they have also both rectified its doctrines, and added their own views and

discoveries to the mass of pre-existent learning. They, in fact, have been the chief agents in enlarging our country's science; and it is mainly, though not exclusively, to them that Scotland is indebted for her eminence and high estimation in the republic of letters."

The position and influence attributed here to the universities was due in no inconsiderable degree to the circumstance that the endowment of the professor was superior to that of the clergyman, and that while under an opposite relation of the two, the line of preferment in England was from the University to the Church, in Scotland the line of preferment was from the Church to the University. Instead of the larger body prematurely stripping the smaller of its best men, and withdrawing their services into other channels, the smaller body had the whole range of the larger one before it, and could lay its hand upon and appropriate the ablest of its members. Notwithstanding the relative disadvantage to which the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had been thus exposed—a disadvantage which Dr. Chalmers would have removed, not by making the Church endowments less, but by making the collegiate ones greater—their absolute superiority to all the other scholastic institutions of the empire was too conspicuous, and the services they had rendered to the cause both of literature and religion too important, not to draw from him the following eloquent tribute of acknowledgment:—

"We cannot conclude this passing notice of the Universities of England, without the mention of how much they are ennobled by those great master-spirits, those men of might and of high achievement—the Newtons, and the Miltons, and the Drydens, and the Barrows, and the Addisons, and the Butlers, and the Clarkes, and the Stillingfleets, and the Ushers, and the Foxes, and the Pitts, and Johnsons, who, within their Attic retreats received that first awakening, which afterwards ex-

panded into the aspirations and the triumphs of loftiest genius. This is the true heraldry of colleges. Their family honour is built on the prowess of sons, not on the greatness of ancestors; and we will venture to say, that there are no seminaries in Europe on which there sits a greater weight of accumulated glory, than that which has been reflected both on Oxford and Cambridge, by that long and bright train of descendants who have sprung from them. It is impossible to make even the bare perusal of their names without the feeling, that there has been summoned before the eye of the mind the panorama of all that has upheld the lustre, whether of England's philosophy or of England's patriotism, for centuries together. We have often thought what a meagre and stinted literature we should have had without them, and what, but for the two universities, would have been the present state of science or theology in England. These rich seminaries have been the direct and the powerful organs for the elaboration of both; and both would rapidly decline, as if languishing under the want of their needful aliment, were the endowments of colleges swept away. It were a truly Gothic spoliation; and the rule of that political economy, which could seize upon their revenues, would be, in effect, as hostile to the cause of sound and elevated learning in Britain, as would be the rule of that popular violence which could make havoc of their architecture, and savagely exult over the ruin of their libraries and halls."

As a plea not simply for the continuance, but for the enlargement of all the existing school, and college, and church endowments, the treatise from which this passage has been extracted has been pronounced to be "one of the most vigorous and eloquent defences of such endowments that ever proceeded from the press—a treatise which would alone have been sufficient to immortalize its author."* Yet, even when entering with all

* *Quarterly Review*, vol. xliv. p. 527.

his characteristic ardour upon the defence of these establishments, literary and ecclesiastical, to the support and extension of which so many of his after years were consecrated, Dr. Chalmers made clear and open proclamation of the evils to which a misdirection or mal-administration of the patronage connected with them might conduct.

"Certain it is, that, by a corrupt and careless exercise of patronage, much has been done to call forth, if not to justify, even the warmest invectives that have been uttered upon this subject. When one thinks of the high and the holy ends to which an established priesthood might be made subservient, it is quite grievous to observe the sordid politics which have to do with so many of our ecclesiastical nominations. Endowments cease to be respectable when, in the hands of a calculating statesman, they degenerate into the instruments by which he prosecutes his game of ambition; or, when employed as the bribes of political subserviency, they expose either our church or our universities to be trodden under foot by the unseemly inroads of mere office-mongers. It is thus that a land may at length be provoked to eject from its borders the establishment either of an indolent or immoral clergy, wherewith it is burdened, and to look, without regret, on the spoliation or the decay of revenue in colleges. It is truly not to be wondered at, if the poverty neither of lazy priests, nor of lazy and luxurious professors, should meet with sympathy from the public. The same generous triumph that was felt on the destruction of the old monasteries, still continues to be felt on the destruction of every old and useless frame-work; so that, when either a church becomes secularized—or universities, instead of being the living fountainheads, become the dormitories of literature, they will, sooner or latter, be swept off from the country by the verdict of popular condemnation."

CHAPTER XI.

CHRISTIAN LABOURS IN ST. ANDREWS—THE SABBATH SCHOOL—STUDENTS' SABBATH EVENING CLASS—THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF ST. ANDREWS—STATE OF RELIGION AMONG THE STUDENTS—THE RISING AMONG THEM OF THE MISSIONARY SPIRIT—ITS FRUITS.

UNSATISFIED with the simple discharge of the duties of the class-room, Dr. Chalmers's attention was early directed to the religious condition of the general community in the midst of which his lot had now been cast. The population of St. Andrews, though limited, was large enough for the labours of many Christian philanthropists. Without an agency fitted, even on the smallest scale, to carry out any general operations over the town or in any of its parishes, what was Dr. Chalmers to do? He might have propounded his peculiar views to one or other of the clergymen of the city, or failing to obtain their aid he might have sought out such elements of piety and zeal as existed in the different Christian congregations, and by meetings and addresses organized them for public action. Instead of this he began his Christian labours in the most quiet and the least obtrusive way. True to his own principles, so soon as the fatigues of his first session were over, he marked out for himself a district of the town adjacent to his place of residence; he visited its families, and invited the children to attend a class in his own house on the Sabbath evenings. No public announcement was made, no general invitation was

issued, and the district appropriated being small, the attendance on this class at first was limited. Yet for that little group, composed of the poorest children he could gather round him, Dr. Chalmers prepared as carefully as for his class in the University—some stray leaves still existing on which the questions for the evening are carefully written out. As the existence of such a class became better known the applications for admission increased; and one or two of the parents having obtained access as auditors, others followed till the room was crowded. It was not, however, until his third session that this class became burdensome from its numbers, by which time new and more important claims upon his Sabbath evenings had arisen. "On being sent to college," says Dr. Samuel Miller, "in 1823, my father commended me to Dr. Chalmers's spiritual care. As that, however, was the year of Dr. Chalmers's inauguration into the St. Andrews chair, and his hands were full, no particular method was adopted by him for discharging a trust which he readily undertook. Next session, however, it was suggested to him that he might act somewhat of a father's part to the sons of some of his old friends by taking us into his house on the Sabbath evenings, and giving us that religious instruction to which we had been accustomed at home. He at once consented to this; and during that winter five of us met regularly in his house on Sabbath evenings, when he instructed us and dealt with our souls as if we had been his own children. He gave us books for Sabbath reading, and examined us as to their contents, at the same time taking his own 'Scripture References' as a kind of doctrinal text-book for his expositions and examinations. By another year this little meeting was noised abroad, and, at the earnest solicitation of their parents, other students were admitted to the privilege of attending it, till the little company was increased to about a dozen. It was his very earnest desire not to have a larger

number. He used again and again to tell us so, alleging as the reason, that he wished to look on us and deal with us as in a *family* character. And so he did in the way of parental counsel and prayer, joined with the approved old fashion of familiar catechising. By next year, however, application for admission to this students' class became so numerous and pressing, that, after resisting for a while, he at last gave way, and this third session of the class saw his large dining-room completely crammed with students of all sorts and sizes. His mode of conducting the meeting now necessarily changed. His instructions became a kind of prelection to silent auditors on the leading topics of Christian doctrine and personal religion—very simple and conversational they were, but all the more valuable on that account. It is now about a quarter of a century since, and not a few of that roomful have entered the eternal world. I believe that among these he now recognises the fruit of his labours. Others still remain; and I have good reason for being confident that on many hearts impressions were made by the hallowed exercises of those 'Horæ Biblicæ Sabbaticæ' that have yielded, and will yield, fruit unto God. We all feel that we learned more of really Christian ethics at these meetings than by all his class-room lectures on moral philosophy."*

These meetings obliged Dr. Chalmers to commit the teaching of his Sabbath-school to one or other of the students. In the session 1825-26 he selected for this office one who had pre-eminently distinguished himself as a scholar, but who was no less pre-eminent for the attractive graces of a deep and genuine piety—for his friends and for the Church cut off too early. "It was in the second session of my acquaintance with him," says Dr. Chalmers, "that I devolved upon him the care of a Sabbath-school which I had formed. In the conduct of this little

* Letter from the Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D., of Glasgow.

seminary he displayed a tact and talent which were quite admirable, and I felt myself far outrun by him in the power of kind and impressive communication, and in that faculty by which he commanded the interest of pupils and could gain at all times the entire sympathy of their understandings. * * * Had I needed aught to reconcile me to the transition which I have made from the state of a pastor to that of a professor, it would just be the successive presentation, year after year, of such students as John Urquhart; nor in giving up the direct work of a Christian minister can I regret the station into which Providence has translated me, one of the fountainheads of the Christian ministry in our land." The student of whom Dr. Chalmers spoke with that excess of admiring approval, so characteristic of his favourable judgment, was indeed highly honoured. "Dr. Chalmers," he writes, "has been more than kind to me this year; indeed, I feel almost oppressed by his attention. As my school is held in his house, I generally sup with him on Sunday evening, when I enjoy much more of his conversation than at set parties, as he and Mrs. Chalmers are then generally alone. I was very much gratified by a walk I had with Dr. Chalmers, to visit the parents of the children who attend his school. The people in some of the houses seemed to recognise him familiarly, so that he is probably often engaged in the same labours of love. He thinks such exercises as visiting the poor and the sick the best introduction to ministerial labour. 'This,' he said, as we were going along, 'is what I call preaching the gospel to every creature; that cannot be done by setting yourself up in a pulpit, as a centre of attraction, but by going forth and making aggressive movements upon the community, and by preaching from house to house.'"*

In speaking here of the Sabbath-school as *his*, Mr. Urquhart speaks of it as one out of a number which had already risen up

* *Memoirs of John Urquhart*, vol. ii. pp. 40, 41.

around it, and now thickly studded the city; for the inviting example, the counsel and encouragement of Dr. Chalmers, had induced a number of the students of the university to engage in similar labours. Nor was the friendly aid of Dr. Chalmers the only encouragement which was held out to them as they proceeded to divide the town into districts, to visit all the families, and to establish flourishing schools in almost every necessitous quarter. To every measure instituted at St. Andrews which held out the slightest promise of conferring religious benefit upon the most neglected portion of the community, to all schools and churches for the poor, Principal Haldane has uniformly given not only the general sanction of his patronage, but most effective personal aid; and this, along with others of his colleagues, he afforded to the numerous Sabbath-schools which now sprang up. Dr. Chalmers did not put himself at the head of the movement. He was most anxious that the young men should labour under the parish ministers, and it was under them that these schools were established. "It was interesting to see the Principal of a college, and the Professor of Oriental Languages, stumbling up a dark close on a Sabbath evening, to countenance young students with their new Sabbath classes."* Their common engagement in these evening schools led the students to hold Sabbath-morning meetings for prayer and counsel—meetings at which the hallowed fire which glowed in every breast grew warmer at the touch of a congenial flame. Nor was this all. The visitation of their districts for the purpose of bringing out the young to school had revealed a great and unexpected amount of religious indifference and neglect among the adult population, a discovery which, when made by ardent youths panting to do good, was not long of being followed up by active efforts to relieve the destitution. The zeal, indeed, which embarked in these efforts did not confine itself to St.

* MS. Memoranda by Rev. Dr. Lorimer of Glasgow.

Andrews, but flowed out upon adjoining districts. "There is a new system," says Mr. Urquhart, "of religious instruction which has been attempted in St. Andrews this last session, and which I think is a most efficient system for evangelizing large towns. The plan is very simple. We first inquired after some persons residing in different quarters of the town who were religiously disposed. We called on these, and requested the favour of a room in their house for a few of the neighbours to assemble in for religious purposes. We expected a little group of eight or ten persons to assemble, but were astonished to find the attendance increase in some of the stations to fifty or sixty. Many of these *never went to church.* We generally read and explained a passage of Scripture, and read some extracts from such books as we thought were most striking and useful. You understand we never called it *preaching;* and accordingly Dr. Haldane gave his consent that the young men in the Established Church should engage in the work. Churchmen and Dissenters all went hand in hand, and we forgot that there was any distinction: and this must be the case more universally ere the cause of our great Redeemer go triumphantly forward. I do think this a most plausible method for getting at that class of the community who do not attend the public services of the gospel. I may mention that we have a Mr. H. here, a Baptist minister from London, of whom, perhaps, you may have heard. He has come to attend Dr. Chalmers, and has been very useful here. He and my friend Mr. A. have established several preaching stations in the country round where the people seem eager to hear the gospel."*

* *Memoirs of John Urquhart*, vol. ii. pp. 121, 122.—The persons alluded to here by Mr. Urquhart were the Rev. Mr. Hoby and Mr. John Adam, whose age and Christian experience, and greater freedom from ecclesiastical restraint, afforded them peculiar advantages in this walk of usefulness. For some interesting notices of their labours, see "Memoir of John Adam, late Missionary at Calcutta. 8vo. London, 1833."

Soon after he came to St. Andrews Dr. Chalmers was invited to become President of a Missionary Society, composed of Christians of different denominations. He would not accept this office till it had been offered to and declined by others whose official position entitled them to that mark of respect. But having at last accepted it, what might have been a mere post of honour he turned into one of active labour and most extensive usefulness. His busy life at Glasgow had to some extent withdrawn his attention from the details of missionary labour. He had more leisure now to make himself acquainted with them, and as he acted as chairman of the monthly meetings held for the communication of missionary intelligence, he took the whole duty of that communication into his own hands. His mode of procedure was quite original. The different Missionary Societies were introduced to the notice of his auditors by sketches of their leading peculiarities and characteristics. The extracts read from the Reports were interspersed with illustrative observations of his own, and the reading of them was accompanied or followed up by addresses, in which, while all the ordinary motives and encouragements to missionary efforts were enforced, the whole sphere of missionary operation was regarded as one wide field of observation, from the philosophic survey of which there were gathered many an illustration of the peculiar doctrines and many a confirmation of the evidences of the Christian faith. As a specimen of the manner in which these meetings were conducted, let us present our readers with the preliminary notice given of the Church of England Missionary Society.

"The first peculiarity to be observed of this Missionary Society is, that one and all of its agents must be of the Episcopal persuasion, and that they employ none to preach the gospel, even in heathen countries, but those who have received what, according to the principles of their own Church, is held to be

a valid and regular ordination. We have heard the Society reproached with bigotry because of this spirit of exclusiveness. We do not sympathize with the jealousy which even the best ministers of our sister Establishment have of those who are without their pale, but we confess that, on various accounts, we feel ourselves completely reconciled to the way in which they have so completely separated themselves in the present instance from all other denominations of Christians. They, in the first place, secure a much larger support from a class who probably might not have felt inclined to contribute of their means to any other missionary society, the most wealthy and influential class, perhaps, of the British population, the members and zealous partizans of the Church of England, who have come forth largely and liberally in behalf of this particular institution, so that their annual income very nearly reaches £40,000. They, in the second place, by having so wholly a distinct agency at home will the more readily be led to chalk out for themselves a distinct walk of missionary exertion abroad; and I do prefer a number of independent societies, each selecting its own territory of that immense field which affords room and occupation for the utmost efforts of all the societies that have yet been instituted, and many more besides. I say, I prefer, and think it a more efficient instrumentality for the propagation of the Gospel than were the whole of missionary exertion to be placed under the superintendence of one immense and unwieldy association. In the third place, I think that this separation of themselves from all other societies has led to another advantage. It has furnished us with an additional style and character of missionary enterprise, and I do like to see all the possible varieties of method that can be adopted for the carrying forward of this vast scheme. I like to see the experiments multiplied and diversified in every conceivable way. And, accordingly, the Church Missionary Society have furnished us with a very

pleasing and instructive variety. They have directed their attention more to the sending out of catechisers and readers, and to the founding of schools for the education of children, and to the settlement of literary correspondents in various stations abroad, whose business it is to furnish all the possible information which they can collect in their respective territories; and, lastly, to the making out of alphabets and written languages for those barbarous nations who never have been so gifted before, and in these languages to furnish the natives with school-books and Bibles, and the whole apparatus of that scholarship which is brought to bear on the boyhood of our own land.

"I am not sure if, upon the whole, I do not like this Society better than any others which are now in operation, always excepting the Moravians. I say not this to disparage any one of them. But people will have tastes and preferences; and I must confess, that from the whole complexions of their proceedings, from the numbers of their Missionary Register to which I had access more than ten years ago, from that vein of devoted spirituality, and of admirable sense by which I think they stand characterized, I have always had a very strong partiality and admiration for this most respectable and respectably supported Society. The very best of English society patronize it; and among the payments which are made to them you will observe the names of the most noble and wealthy and lettered individuals in all England. But it is the beauty of Christianity that it rallies rich and poor around a cause which is felt to be alike dear to the common sympathies of both. And, accordingly, there is no society which has carried the penny a-week system to a greater extent than the one which I am now introducing to your notice. Supported as they are by the countenance of the greatest in the land, they feel the importance of enlisting in their behalf the great body of the population; and if it be the glory of this institution that it can number among

its directors the names of our most splendid nobility, the good men who stand associated with its interests rejoice in it, as an equal if not a surpassing glory, that they can number among its contributors thousands and thousands more among the poor of the people."

The monthly meetings of the Missionary Society had previously been but ill attended, but when the choicest extracts from the Reports of all the various Societies were culled by such a hand, and prepared and illustrated in such a way, the attraction grew—the attendance swelled—the room (the Masons' Lodge) was found to be too small, and an adjournment at last took place into the Town Hall. At these crowded assemblies, where many of the most influential townspeople attended, old prejudice was softened, and a new respect and attachment to evangelical Christianity in many cases created.* But it was in another region—it was within the halls of the University that Dr. Chalmers's advocacy of the great cause of Christian missions produced its most precious fruits. "I would at all times," says Dr. Duff, "desire to speak and write of students with

* "His connexion with the Missionary Society, and his well known zeal in the cause of missions, brought Dr. Chalmers into frequent contact with the agents of these institutions. The deputations were always welcome to his house, and shared in his generous hospitality. He was much interested in the visit of the late Dr. Marshman from India, and entered heartily into the scheme of the Native Hindoo College, instituted by the Serampore brethren, anticipating the best results from the Christian education of the native youth. I remember also being present at a conversation which he held with the late Dr. Morrison of China, on the subject of the proper *agency* to be employed in the management of religious societies: Dr. Morrison maintaining that ministers should take an active part in conducting these institutions, while Dr. Chalmers held that the details should be intrusted chiefly to laymen, ministers confining themselves to the more spiritual duties of their office. I also recollect accompanying (on another occasion) the late amiable Dr. Yates of Calcutta, to breakfast with the Doctor, who maintained a very *friendly* debate with him on the subject of Church Establishments. Indeed, few strangers of eminence visited this quarter without calling on him; and he delighted to see persons of different religious persuasions at his table, allowing to each the free expression of his sentiments, but never suffering the conversation to degenerate into angry controversy."—*MS. Memoranda by the Rev. Mr. Lothian, St. Andrews.*

becoming moderation and leniency; as there is often a rash, hasty, and heartless way of treating them and their conduct. They are often more the objects of pity than of severe reprobation. * * * Whether the students of St. Andrews were, in reality, worse than the students of other colleges, I have no means of ascertaining. But, somehow or other, they had obtained a worse name. This might arise from the circumstance, that—whereas in great towns, such as Edinburgh and Glasgow, students are lost amid the teeming crowd of population, and may be as wicked as they please in private, without being noticed or even known—in a small town like St. Andrews, every thing down to the minutest and most private is sure to be detected and blazoned abroad. But be this as it may, historic truth requires it to be recorded, that, as a whole, the St. Andrews students were, previously to the advent of Dr. Chalmers, a singularly Godless, Christless class. At the United College there was only *one* who was reputed to be pious, and who dared to face the derision and the scorn of being so reputed. He was the butt and the joke of every one, under the familiar nickname of 'The Bishop.' Nor was St. Mary's or the Divinity College much better. Indeed, some of the Divinity students were even more notorious for their impiety, immorality, and riotous revellings, than any in the Philosophy College.

"Such was the University of St. Andrews before the day of its 'merciful visitation' in November 1823!—such the region of sceptical darkness and error on which the light of a great luminary then broke in—such the mass of moral putrescence on which a portion of quickening salt then fell—such the realm of spiritual death which was then disturbed by the tread of a *living* man! The Lord was graciously pleased to remember St. Andrews for the Fathers' sake;—for the sake of the noble army of Reformers, Martyrs, and Confessors, who there intrepidly witnessed for 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' or there heroically

suffered unto death! And in the unexpected way, already detailed, he sent his chosen servant, Dr. Chalmers, to be the honoured instrument of a great revival which should redound to *His* own praise and glory. * * * During the session of 1823-24, shortly after Dr. Chalmers's arrival, and encouraged by his sympathies and countenance, a few of the divinity students formed themselves into an Association, with the intention of reviewing and supporting Missions, which held its meetings in a private room. The existence of such an Association led to the subject of Missions being frequently spoken of among other students, so that in various ways the minds of many were gradually prepared to give it a candid consideration.

"Early in the session of 1824-25 a few of us were assembled in the apartment of one of the saintliest of youths that ever trode the stage of time—the pious, the devoted, the heavenly-minded Urquhart. Amongst other religious topics that of missions to the heathen furnished a theme for conversation. Then was the question started as to the possibility of forming a missionary society among the students of the Philosophy College. The exceeding desirableness of the object was admitted by all. By some, however, whose minds were still haunted by frightful visions of past apathy and scorn, such an attempt was regarded as chimerical. The students would only scoff at it, and the professors frown upon it. To others, who had more carefully noted the softening influences which had begun to operate, the probability of success did not appear so preposterous or forlorn a hope. Many of the students, it was argued, would even be found favourable, and one at least of the professors, Dr. Chalmers, would be sure to smile upon it, and his single smile ought to be felt as more than a counterpoise to the frown of all the rest. At all events, it was worth while to make the effort. If it prospered an incalculable good would be gained; if it failed nothing would be lost. These counsels

prevailed. Paper was instantly produced—the scheme of a society drafted, and the names of those present attached. In a few days fifty or sixty more signatures were obtained; an Association was publicly and formally constituted: a union was next effected between it and the small Association of divinity students which met in the preceding year; and thus originated the St. Andrews University Society, which ranked among its active friends and supporters more than one-third of all attending both the colleges.

"The object was not so much to aid directly the missionary cause by pecuniary contributions, though such an end was not to be neglected. The grand purpose was to awaken attention to the subject, to arouse apathy, to remove prejudices, to diffuse information, to awake and give a wholesome direction to the spirit of inquiry. By the steady pursuit of such a design it was believed that the cause of missions would ultimately gain a hundredfold more than by any immediate contribution. In order to promote it, it was resolved, *first*, to establish a library consisting of all kinds of missionary publications; and, *secondly*, to hold monthly meetings, after the model of Dr. Chalmers's, for the reading of recent intelligence, the delivery of addresses, and the reading of essays. While, therefore, small sums were annually voted out of the aggregate subscriptions to the leading missionary societies, a large proportion was systematically devoted to the replenishing of the library.

"At first some difficulty was experienced in obtaining a suitable place for the monthly meetings of the United Society. As it consisted entirely of students application was very naturally made to the proper quarter for the use of one of the lecture rooms in the College. This application was politely though peremptorily negatived. By some of the professors it was understood that the object of the meeting was regarded as *thoroughly unacademical*, by others as too Puritanical and

Methodistical, and by almost all as fitted to divert the minds of the young men from their appropriate studies; as if there ever was any real risk of young men giving up too much of their time to objects and pursuits of a devotional and evangelical character! But be that as it may, opposition here had only the effect which it usually has when zeal and sincerity are embarked in a good cause. The earnest became yet more earnest, and lukewarmness itself in many instances was kindled into a flame. The Society must not give way to the active or passive resistance of mere authority; a place of meeting must be had. But where? The magnates of the university had emphatically signified their disapprobation. And so fearful were the townspeople of the displeasure of those on whose good-will they in so many ways depended, that for some time it seemed impossible to find a fitting place anywhere. At length the use of an exceedingly small and inconvenient private school-room was obtained.

"How remarkable the change in the following year or session of 1825-26! By that time Dr. Chalmers's series of prelections in the Town Hall had taken their full effect. He had now popularized the history and objects of missions—unfolded the high philosophy involved in them, and rendered that one of the most fashionable of themes which had been most nauseated before. By that time, too, his lectures had taken full effect on the students, and through them in mellowing the general tone of society. Then also had the United Society been in operation for a twelvemonth, and it was not found, in point of fact, that its members proved themselves to be idle dreamers or visionary fanatics, or careless and backward students. On the contrary, it was proved that its most zealous partisans were precisely those who bore the highest character for diligence, steadiness, and general good behaviour, and not only so, but were those who carried away the highest honours

in every department of classic literature, science, philosophy, and theology. The session of 1825-26, therefore, dawned upon us with smiles instead of frowns. Some of the professors had become positively friendly, while the rest relinquished all actual opposition, or held their sentiments of repugnance in abeyance. To Dr. Nicol, Principal of St. Salvator's College, reports and other missionary publications were sent for perusal. These were returned, with the frank and candid acknowledgment that they had given him "information which was quite new to him," accompanying, at the same time, his letter with a donation of a guinea to our funds, and the spontaneous promise of more afterwards. At the commencement of the previous session (1824-25) no room of any kind could be had within the walls of either of the colleges; now Dr. Haldane, Principal of St. Mary's, voluntarily came forward, in the most cordial and generous manner, declaring that the Divinity Hall itself was freely at our service, or any other place which his influence could command. And it is but justice to the reverend Principal to say, that after that time he continued to take the liveliest interest in the subject of missions, and to encourage his students to do the same. * * *

"Altogether, what a change in the course of two or three years! Whatever may have been the *extent* of *inward* spiritual renovation, no one could question the extent of *outward* visible amelioration in the religious aspect of things. Religion, which had long settled down at zero, or many degrees below it, was sensibly raised in its temperature, and in some instances kindled into an inextinguishable flame. The long repose of stagnation and death, with its teeming brood of corruptions, was effectually disturbed; and out of the strife and conflict of hostile elements a new progeny, fraught with life and purity, began to emerge: and in the missionary libraries and assemblies, the prayer meetings, the Sabbath-schools and preaching stations

in town and country, an extensive machinery was erected for the diffusion of life-giving influences all around. And all this suddenly springing into existence from the presence of one man! Those who could compare what St. Andrews was immediately before Dr. Chalmers's residence there, with what it was two or three years after his arrival, were constrained to feel that no language could more appropriately express *the greatness of the change* than that of the Prophet Isaiah:—'The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing; the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon, they shall see the glory of the Lord and the excellency of our God.'*

"And perhaps the most noticeable peculiarity connected with the whole of this transformative process was the indirect rather than the direct mode in which the effectuating influence was exerted. It did not result so much from any direct and formal exhortation on the part of Dr. Chalmers as from the general awakening and suggestive power of his lectures, the naked force of his own personal piety, and the spreading contagiousness of his own personal example. He carried about with him a better than talismanic virtue, by which all who came in contact with him were almost unconsciously influenced, moulded, and impelled to imitate. He did not formally assemble his students, and in so many set terms formally exhort them to constitute themselves into missionary societies, open Sabbath-schools, commence prayer-meetings, and such like. No: in the course of his lectures he communicated something of his own life and warmth, and expounded principles, of which objects like the

* "Such a change I did not certainly expect to see in my day. On the whole, our College seems at present to present an aspect something similar to that of the University of Oxford in the days of Hervey and Wesley."—*Memoirs of John Urquhart*, vol. i. pp. 73, 74.

preceding were some of the natural exponents and developments. He then faithfully exemplified the principles propounded in his own special actings and general conduct. He was known to be a man of prayer; he was acknowledged to be a man of active benevolence. He was observed to be going about from house to house, exhorting adults on the concerns of their salvation, and devoting his energies to the humble task of gathering around him a Sabbath-school. He was seen to be the sole reviver of an all but defunct missionary society. All these, and other such like traits of character and conduct, being carefully noted, how could they who intensely admired, revered, and loved the man, do less than endeavour, at however great a distance, to tread in his footsteps and *imitate so noble a pattern?*"*

Of the three hundred students who at St. Andrews passed through Dr. Chalmers's classes and came under his influence, there are now not a few filling posts of honour and usefulness in the Church at home. But the most extraordinary spiritual product of these five years was the number of those who out of that small band devoted themselves to missionary labour. In 1826, Dr. Chalmers was present when the Presbytery of St. Andrews ordained the Rev. Mr. Nesbit, one of his own students, to the missionary work at Bombay, where after the zealous and effective services of a quarter of a century, Mr. Nesbit labours with unabated zeal—worthy of double honour as the oldest Scottish missionary on the field of India. Before Dr. Chalmers left St. Andrews, Mr. John Adam, another of his students, had begun his brief missionary career by the banks of the Ganges. In 1829, Dr. Chalmers presided at the ordination by the Presbytery of Edinburgh of the Rev. Alexander Duff to be missionary of the Church of Scotland, and President of the Educational Institute at Calcutta; and the life and labours of this

* MS. Memoranda by the Rev. Dr. Duff.

prince of missionaries has proved how truly and how intensely he was impelled to "tread in the footsteps," and "to imitate the noble pattern" of his great teacher. The Rev. Mr. Mackay and the Rev. Mr. Ewart followed Dr. Duff; and had heaven not claimed its own so soon, John Urquhart would have been beside his fellow-students and fellow-missionaries in the East. More than one missionary for each college session—two out of every hundred students—what other University record can present a parallel! And if, among those destined to the Christian ministry in our land, as great a proportion were now and henceforth to consecrate themselves to foreign service, what a large and noble band of missionaries should be sent forth into the heathen world.

CHAPTER XII.

OFFER OF THE LIVING OF ST. CUTHBERTS—ELECTION TO THE PROFESSORSHIP OF DIVINITY AT EDINBURGH—VISITS TO THE RUINS OF ST. ANDREWS—CLOSE OF HIS LAST SESSION—SPEECH IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN FAVOUR OF THE REPEAL OF THE TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS—MR. IRVING'S LECTURES ON PROPHECY—FALL OF THE GALLERY IN THE CHURCH AT KIRKALDY—DEPARTURE FROM ST. ANDREWS.

On returning from Belfast to St. Andrews, Dr. Chalmers found the following letter lying upon his table:—

"*Bowwood, September 25th*, 1827.—Rev. Sir,—Desirous as I should be of consulting the wishes of the principal proprietors and other persons interested in the appointment to any particular ministry in Scotland, in the selection of the individual whom I might recommend for that purpose to His Majesty, there does not appear to me to exist that preponderance of opinion in favour of either of two very respectable gentlemen who have been recommended by heritors, elders, and others of the parish of St. Cuthberts, to justify me in presenting either of them for His Majesty's nomination.

"From the moment I apprehended that such might be the case, I determined to propose to you to accept that living, confident, from the eminent services you have already rendered to the Church of Scotland, and to the wants, both spiritual and temporal, of its inhabitants, that such a choice cannot fail to prove satisfactory both to the parish in which you are called to exercise this ministry, and to the public at large.—I

have the honour to be, Reverend Sir, with sincere esteem and regard, your most obedient servant, LANSDOWNE."

The parish of St. Cuthberts, Edinburgh, had become vacant by the death of the venerable Sir Henry Moncreiff, who, after a ministry of upwards of half a century, was removed from the scene of his earthly labours. It was one of the most desirable livings in the Church of Scotland; and the flattering manner in which it was offered could not fail to have some influence with Dr. Chalmers. But his conviction of the superiority of a Professorship in point of usefulness remained unshaken, and he respectfully declined the courteous offer. He had scarcely done so when another vacancy arose in Edinburgh. Declining health had for some years prevented the Rev. Dr. Ritchie, Professor of Divinity in the University, from discharging effectively the duties of that important chair, which he now resigned. On the 17th October Dr. Chalmers made the following entry in his Journal:—"Heard to-day from Edinburgh of Dr. Ritchie's resignation. There are many who lay me out for his successor. I feel passive, and in a state of quiescence thereanent; and I pray for the guidance of Heaven both in regard to my studies and to my movements." Among the many friends in Edinburgh engaged in promoting Dr. Chalmers's election, there was no one more influentially energetic than the Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson, as there was no one who felt more the importance of this appointment in its bearings upon the future condition of the Church of Scotland. In his anxiety Dr. Thomson was induced to make a request, to which, in a letter to his friend, Mr. Robert Paul, Dr. Chalmers thus alluded,—

"*St. Andrews, October* 23*d.*—I yesterday got a letter from Dr. Thomson, and I am somewhat at a loss in what terms I should reply to it.

"He asks of me a thing which I dislike excessively—a declaration which he might shew about, in order to put down a

misreport that it seems is in circulation, of my being an enemy to Systematic Divinity. Now, it so happens that I look on the teaching of theology, and the not teaching it systematically, as a contradiction in terms; but I do recoil from the forthputting of any declaration on the subject, and more especially for such a use as the one he is proposing to put it to.

"You must perceive, that if they will not elect me on the ground of what they already know and judge respecting me—and they require tests and declarations in order to be satisfied—you must both perceive and feel that this is not the time for issuing them; and that rather than it should come to this, they ought to think no more of me.

"The communications I am now receiving from others upon the subject render it expedient that I should at least have one depositary in Edinburgh of what I think and feel about it. My conviction both of your regard for myself, and of your discretion in the management of affairs—and this conviction, heightened by all the feelings which you expressed, and which I have no doubt prompted your last communication, strongly incline me to you as my confidential friend and adviser in this matter; and to you I have no objection to say, that though I never could bring myself to ask the now vacant Professorship in Edinburgh, yet, should it be offered, I do not see on what grounds, either of taste or of duty, I ought to refuse it.

"I am sensible that in my last letter to you there was a reserve which perhaps I have done wrong in overstepping in my present letter. My reason for suspecting so is, that I regard it as a far more satisfying indication of the will and mind of Providence, when by a series of events altogether uncontrolled by myself, a proposition of any sort comes to my door, than when I go forth gratuitously, and of my own accord, with any act of mine which mingles in the train of sequences, and at length modifies or decides the final result. It makes all the

difference between an office being brought to me, and me going forth to an office. The one I feel as the product of a will and a wisdom superior to my own; the other as the product of desires and devisings on the part of one who is walking after the counsel of his own heart and in the sight of his own eyes. The difference in point of comfort is the greatest possible. It reconciled me to all the fatigues of Glasgow—it reconciles me to all the sufferings of St. Andrews—that I did not seek in either of these cases, but was sought after. I desire that it shall be so throughout the whole of my future history in the world, that whatever peculiar trials may await me in any place which I shall be called to occupy, I may have the consolation of thinking that they were not of my own bringing on—the appointment of Heaven, and not the fruits of my own waywardness. THOMAS CHALMERS."

On the day after that on which this letter was written, Dr. Chalmers replied thus to Dr. Thomson's proposal:—

"*St. Andrews, October 24th*, 1827.—MY DEAR SIR,—Your vacant Professorship of Divinity is truly a most important office, and the person appointed to fill it should feel it his solemn, his paramount obligation to acquit himself of all its duties in the way that may be most subservient to the great interests of truth and sacredness. But forgive me, my dear Sir, if, with every sentiment of gratitude for your friendship to myself, as well as high gratification at your opinion of my fitness for the charge, I should demur to the propriety of issuing any declaration or manifesto of my views, in order to conciliate electors, or to meet all the gossip that might be put into circulation for the purpose of prejudicing them. This I should feel to be a step worthy only of a man who looked to the office as a gainful preferment; and not of the man who feels no other value for the occupation of it than as it may place him in the way of great Christian usefulness, and enable him to

fulfil the ardent wishes of his heart for the purity of the Church of Scotland, and the efficiency of this greatest engine that can be brought to bear on the moral and religious character of its population. It is on these grounds that along with a deep feeling of gratitude for your wish to serve me, I further feel an insuperable repugnance to the specific measure which you have recommended. I could not bear to have any *exposé* of mine put forth with a view to increase votes, or to augment my chance of an appointment which I shall never go in quest of, although the proposal of it, should it ever come to my door, I should hold worthy of the most serious and respectful entertainment.

"To yourself, and for your own satisfaction, it is quite unnecessary that I should say anything to put down the nonsense which you tell me is in circulation anent my hostility to Systematic Divinity—as if any science whatever could be taught in a way that was not systematic; or as if there was not the same harmony in the Word of God to form the basis of a theological system, that there is in the works of God, and which forms the basis of our physical or philosophical systems.

"I am glad to observe that the new professor is not expected to officiate this winter; and some such temporary arrangement as you point at seems indeed to be quite indispensable. THOMAS CHALMERS."

On the 31st October the Town Council and Magistrates of Edinburgh unanimously elected Dr. Chalmers to fill the vacant chair. This election placed him in the most honourable and influential position which any minister of the Church of Scotland could occupy. As the appointment took place so close upon the opening of the collegiate session, it was arranged that he should not enter upon the duties of his new office till November 1828. The year thus given him for preparation was most diligently improved. He first heard of his election on

Thursday the 1st November, and on Tuesday the 6th we find him making this entry in his Journal—"Began this day my theological lectures, and the reading of Sumner's 'Records of the Creation.'" How effectively this early commencement was sustained is evidenced by such entries as the following:—

"*November 9th.*—Have begun to read a little of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew each day.

"*November 12th.*—Began this day the practice of rising at six o'clock, in order to have time for the languages. My day now very closely filled up; but let me not over-fatigue myself, and, above all, let not my literary and professional cares overbear the influences of the Word of God.

"*November 13th.*—Severe, and to my taste not very successful composition. My plan, however, is to be elaborate, though I should produce less. I desire to have God's glory and not my own at heart.

"*November 14th.*—Less severe to-day, and better. Let me not aim at quantity, but put down my successive clauses and sentences as I am satisfied, and never sacrifice the sterling quality to the object of swelling the amount of my composition. A little fagged by my early risings, but let me persevere.

"*January 1st*, 1828.—My Political Economy must now give way as an immediate object, for the preparation of my theological lectures. I still indulge the perspective of a subsidiary course on this subject in connexion with my parish economics. I foresee the coldness of friends, the controversy of foes, and probably the decline of earthly comfort, in my approaching connexion with Edinburgh. Let me roll the whole on God's providence, and meanwhile give myself to the work of preparation."

That work was liable to many a serious invasion. Frequently throughout this busy winter we find such records as the following:—"Mr. —— came to us to-day on a visit. I must now

carefully guard against these. I have no time; Mrs. Chalmers has no strength; and I do feel the pressure of this continued presence of strangers. * * * I find it difficult to combine hospitality with study. I must do it, however. * * * A round of the St. Andrews lions with Mr. P. and party. Another arrival! It is like holding carnival."

During the whole period of his residence in St. Andrews Dr. Chalmers had laid his house open to the numerous visitors who came there to make or to renew acquaintance with him. There was one draft upon his time, induced by such visits, which even in the season of his busiest occupation he could never bring himself to dishonour. He delighted to carry his visitors round among those memorials of the past which abounded in the neighbourhood. St. Andrews was the first place in Scotland which the light of the Gospel had visited; and the Tower of St. Regulus still survived as an impressive relic of primitive Christianity—a tall square solid column, upon which the storms of ten centuries or more have spent themselves in vain. In Roman Catholic times St. Andrews had been the seat of the primacy—its Castle tenanted by the heads of a lordly hierarchy—its cathedral, upon which the labour of one hundred and sixty years was expended, the largest and stateliest ecclesiastical edifice in the kingdom. Its university, the most ancient in Scotland, was the cradle of the Reformation. In front of St. Salvator's College was the hallowed spot where Hamilton expired among the flames, and close by the castle was the scene of Wishart's martyrdom. From the deck of a French galley, while his feet lay in irons, the spires of St. Andrews were pointed out to John Knox. "Yes," said he, "I know it well, for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to His glory; and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life till that my tongue

shall glorify His godly name in the same place." The very pulpit from which his fervid tongue fulfilled that prophecy is still shewn at St. Andrews, while the removal of every vestige of Popery, and the ruins of castle and cathedral, remain to tell us of the preacher's power. In still later days, Henderson and Melville, Rutherford and Halyburton, had wandered through the college gardens, meditating those acts, or musing over those writings, which have so extensively contributed to mould the character of the Scottish people. Amid localities so rich in hallowed remembrance Dr. Chalmers revelled with intense delight. He studied the histories connected with each. Again and again did he return to them, and with a growing enthusiasm gaze on the venerable relics. At one or other more sacred spot he might be seen at times standing lost in thought, heedless of notice or salutation. His power of vivid conception had rebuilt the ruined walls, had repeopled the silent area, had raised the stake, and brought up the martyr's form as he stood heroic amid the flames. It was a sentiment far deeper than that of mere antiquarianism which absorbed him. He had that sentiment. It glowed round every relic with which any tale of olden time was linked. But it was a deeper and more powerful emotion which filled his breast, when, on the very ground they trod, and in the places where they received their noblest vindication, he communed with the men and sympathized with the principles of the Scottish Reformation. An hour's walk was sufficient for visiting the most remarkable localities, and whoever came to him Dr. Chalmers was always impatient till he had them off to a "round of the ruins." If the many groups thus guided had been chronicled we should have a long and strange array of British peers and Glasgow merchants, burghers of Anstruther and cottagers of Kilmany, escorted with equal delight, and having lavished upon them an equal attention. Each fresh eye that

looked upon those ruins, gazed, he fancied, with a feeling kindred to his own, and it revived and redoubled his own enjoyment to communicate such a pleasure. During the later period of his residence in St. Andrews Dr. Chalmers lived in a house which had formed part of St. Leonard's College, and he had great delight in announcing to his guests that they were under the roof which covered the small upper chamber—approachable then only by a ladder—which had been the Study of the celebrated Buchanan, and that they were in the dwelling where Dr. Samuel Johnson being asked by one of the professors whether he had been satisfied with the dinner which had been provided for him, returned the fierce reply, "Sir, I came to Scotland, not to eat good dinners, but to see savage men and savage manners, and I have not been disappointed."

Dr. Chalmers's last session at St. Andrews was now drawing to a close, and as the time approached for taking farewell of his students he felt acutely the pangs of separation.

"*Sunday, 20th April.*—Heard Dr. Hunter in the afternoon in the College Church; eyed the last spectacle of the assembled students with emotion. Had my usual meetings, and took leave of my student Sabbath scholars.

"*April 24th.*—Concluded my classes this day; was well-nigh overcome by my allusions to the removal that was before me."

The last lecture of his course was upon the mutual relations of ethics and theology, and it afforded him the opportunity of thus gracefully and touchingly closing his professorial labours:—

"I will pursue the connexions of moral philosophy with Christianity no further at present. So much am I impressed with the unity of the two subjects, or rather with the way in which the one graduates into the other, that I scarcely feel myself translated to another walk of speculation by the removal which is now before me from an ethical to a theological chair.

There is at least nothing violent in the transition, for I feel it as if but a step in advance from the rudiments to the higher lessons of the same science. But though mentally there may be little or no change implied by this transference of my duties, yet personally I must confess that it cannot be accomplished without a feeling of painful laceration, insomuch that I dare hardly trust myself with the expression of one parting homage to a place all whose localities, from its class-rooms even to the remotest corner of its area, are interwoven with the remembrances of early boyhood. There is one experience, gentlemen, to which the history of my various changes in life has peculiarly, and, I will even say, has painfully exposed me, and that is, how little a man gains, or rather, indeed, how much he loses, in the happiness of natural and healthful enjoyment, by passing from a narrower to a wider, and what some may call a more elevated sphere. There is not room in the heart of man for more than a certain number of objects, and he is therefore placed far more favourably for the development of all that pleasure which lies in the kind and friendly affections of our nature, when the intimacy of his regards is permitted to rest on a few, than when, bustled through an interminable variety of persons and things, each individual can have but a slender hold upon the memory, and a hold as slender upon the emotions. It is thus, that on looking back upon my city experience I have little more than the dazzling recollection of a feverish and troubled dream, while athwart this medium and at a larger distance in the retrospect, I can enjoy the sweet prospect of a country parish, all whose scenes and cottage families are dear to me. I know that I am to repeat this experience, and am quite sure that amid the din, and the confusion, and the crowded attendance of that larger theatre to which I go, I shall often look back with a sigh on the closer and the kindlier fellowships that I have held with the students within

these walls. Be assured, gentlemen, as you would of any moral certainty, that there is nothing in the busier scenes which are now before me that is fitted to displace you from my recollections, but, on the contrary, to enhance all my regrets and all my regards, when on contrasting the students of St. Andrews with those of Edinburgh I shall think of my connexion with you as a peculiar and a more tender relationship."

The students of the University presented Dr. Chalmers with a parting token of their gratitude and affection. "*May 1st.*—The presentation of the Walton 'Polyglot,' with Castell's 'Lexicon,' took place this day, at four o'clock, in my drawing-room. There were about seventy students present, nearly, if not altogether, all who were in town." In accepting the volumes, Dr. Chalmers thus addressed those who had so kindly waited upon him:—

"Gentlemen, let me assure you, that costly and magnificent as that donation is, to me the principal charm of an offering as spontaneous on your part as it is wholly unexpected upon mine, is the index which it affords me of your regard. There was an attempt similar to the present one the first year of my professorial duties in St. Andrews, and I resisted it, because I then doubted the propriety of a public teacher being so honoured and signalized by his pupils during the *currency* of his labours. I feel no such difficulty now, when I have reached the *termination* of them. Then I might have felt it a violence to academic propriety to have accepted what I now feel it were a violence to nature did I decline. What I should have refused when rendered to me as a preference, I now cling to when offered as a parting memorial; and I will confess this expression of your kindness to be in most touching harmony with all the tenderness of my approaching departure from the scenes of my early education, and upon which I shall now look back with a sensibility still more vivid, because of the honest and heart-

felt friendship wherewith you, gentlemen, have sounded my farewell.

"But though it be the soul and the sentiment of this offering which constitute its chief, its essential value, I cannot look to the materials of the offering itself without being gratified to the uttermost by the professional, I had almost said the philosophical, appropriateness of the gift which I am now receiving at your hands. These volumes—the vast and the venerable products of that gigantic labour which characterized an age of gigantic men—will at once facilitate the studies of my coming profession, and remind me of their arduousness. I shall hold daily converse with them; and by making them my closet companions I shall be enabled to blend with my severer occupations the agreeable recollections of a kindness the sense of which will both lighten and animate my labours.

"I conclude, gentlemen, with the assurance of my unfeigned earnestness in wishing health and happiness to you all. We shall soon part on earth. May we meet in heaven; and after this world, with all its fluctuations, has passed away, may we reach a common inheritance in that land where sorrow and separation are unknown."

The "pathos of many juvenile farewells" was almost instantly succeeded by preparations for the approaching General Assembly. That venerable Court had upon this occasion its attention chiefly occupied with questions of local or comparatively temporary interest. There was one topic, however, which had recently been engrossing a large share of public and Parliamentary regard, in which Dr. Chalmers took so very lively an interest, that he could not refrain from bringing it under the notice of the Assembly. Early in May the Bill for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts had received the Royal assent. In its Address to the Throne, Dr. Chalmers desired that the General Assembly should express its gratification at this event.

As the leading ecclesiastical authorities were indisposed to such a step, he himself brought the matter before the Court by moving, on the first day of its meeting for public business, "That the General Assembly should present an Address to His Majesty expressive of their high satisfaction at the Act which had obtained the sanction of the Legislature, for repealing so much of several Acts of Parliament which imposed the necessity of taking the Sacrament as a qualification for entering upon office." In supporting this motion, Dr. Chalmers spoke as follows :—

"There is one most appropriate topic for a place in our Address, and that is, the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. It were certainly not in good taste for us to specialize with any degree of minuteness such events as are merely political. But the measure to which I now refer is not of that character. It is not a secular but a sacred interest which is involved in it. It were strange, I do think, to pass over in silence, or even to pass over slightly, a matter so connected as this is with religious liberty and the rights of conscience ; more especially, as what our Government has actually done upon this question is so fitted to rejoice every enlightened friend of Christianity, and in particular to call forth the acknowledgments and gratulations of the Church of Scotland.

"We have heard the repeal of these Acts spoken of as the removal of a stigma from our Church. I am not sure if this expresses my precise feeling upon the subject. The truth is, I look upon the whole history of this matter as in the highest degree honourable to the Scottish Establishment, and as fitted to demonstrate the native stability of that basis upon which she rests. It has now become experimentally palpable that she stands in need of none of those securities wherewith her fearful sister in the south thought it necessary at one time to prop up what she must then have felt to be her frail and precarious existence. Instead of such securities for us, we our-

selves were the objects of jealousy to the hierarchy of England, and thrust, along with its general body of sectarians, to an outfield place beyond the limits of her guarded inclosure. And what has been the result? A striking lesson, if blind intolerance would but learn it. In virtue of our inherent strength, we, in the midst of disabilities, have stood and prospered; and the motto of our northern Church—'Nec tamen consumebatur'—blazes in characters as fresh and undefaced as ever upon her forehead. The truth is, that our provincial Establishment bids as fair for sound and vigorous endurance as does the great national Episcopacy of these realms; and at this moment it must be palpable to every eye that, wanting all her artificial protections, we yet outpeer her far in the love and reverence of our country's population.

"On the subject of the difference between the two Establishments, I have but one word to offer on the question where it is that the stigma lies. In walking through a street the eye is sometimes arrested by the sight of large wooden props leaning obliquely on the walls of one of the houses, and obviously placed there for the purpose of upholding it. Is it possible, Sir, to resist the impression of that being the craziest edifice along the whole pavement? The fabric of the English Church with her Test and Corporation Acts, incurred the whole dis credit of such an appearance; and she has inconceivably strengthened herself, both in reality and in public estimation, by the taking of them down. The only blunder is, that to please the fancy or the eye of certain of her devotees, long accustomed to the sight of some such projections, and whose taste would have been offended by the want of them, she has erected in their place a buttress of stucco, in the shape of a declaration. It was proposed at first that the Kirk of Scotland should have been conjoined with the Church of England in this declaration. That, Sir, I would have felt to be a stigma;

and if anything in the progress of this most delightful Bill was more satisfactory than another, it was that upon this part of the subject they took another thought, and resolved to keep the whole of this stigma to themselves.

"And now, Sir, I have just to crave your toleration for one word more, in order to a very short insertion which I would humbly propose in this part of your Address. You are aware that the philosophy of our age is all in favour of free trade, and that the extension of this principle to Christianity carries an inference along with it unfavourable to religious establishments. Now, Sir, in the masses and the large movements which take place among the parties and proceedings of a State, opinion is apt to be taken by whole bodies of men in the bulk, and without any reference had to certain important modifications which it is dangerous to lose sight of. I feel convinced, Sir, that on this very question there is the want of a most necessary discrimination between the use of these artificial securities for an Establishment which have now been abolished, and the use of an Establishment at all. And, therefore, now is the time, when felicitating our Monarch on the abolition of the one, that we, in one short and emphatic sentence, should lift our strenuous testimony in behalf of the other. It follows not because there should be a full equality between Churchmen and sectarians in every civil and political right, that therefore a Church and an Establishment are uncalled for. Believing, as we do, that without the maintenance of a national clergy, all the zeal and effort and activity of Dissenters could not save our land from lapsing into a tenfold grosser heathenism than it otherwise would do; and fearful as we at the same time are, that some may be counting on the last glorious triumph of liberality as a step in advance towards the overthrow of religious Establishments, we are all the more imperiously called upon to distinguish between the things which differ; and while we

rejoice in the wider door that has now been opened for sectarians to all the privileges of citizens, to accompany this with our pointed declaration in behalf of a Church to which I heartily believe that Scotland stands mainly indebted for the religion and the worth of her people.

"I can truly say that I feel as much in earnest for the public testimony in behalf of the latter sentiment as in behalf of the former; for the appeal by us on the side of a religious Establishment, is an appeal on the side of that law of toleration which has recently been extended to all sects; and I think that a united testimony in favour of both these principles would come with peculiar grace and propriety from the Church of Scotland—from that Church which, on the one hand, is a living instance of the uselessness of those restrictions which have now been done away, and on the other hand, has made such ample returns for the protection of the State in the worth of her services; and I further think, Sir, that such a manifestation on our part were not only in the highest degree becoming, but, considering the aspect of the times, were in the highest degree seasonable. With all my predilections on the side of freedom, I do not apprehend so much of danger to our land from the advances of liberality, as from the over-impetuous career of a headlong and unguarded liberalism. I have spoken with frankness of the Church of England, but most assuredly without the slightest feeling of disrespect; conceiving, as I do, that to put forth upon her the invading hand of a destroyer, were, instrumentally speaking, to reach the deadliest possible blow at the Christianity of the nation."

In journalizing the day on which this speech was delivered, Dr. Chalmers writes—"*Saturday, May 24th.*—This the day of my motion for an Address on the Test and Corporation Acts. When I announced it yesternight, Dr. Haldane was put into a flutter, for Addresses were generally prepared by the old Moder-

ator; but this was too much a thing in favour of Dissenters to be to his taste, so that I had even to do the thing myself. They seem to have brought the whole strength of their party against it, though we had a very respectable minority, having 77 to 123. We gained, however, the expression of the Assembly's approval of the Repeal, which we should not have gotten without a motion. Mr. Irving is wild upon the other side from me. He sat opposite to me when I was speaking, as if his eye and looks, seen through the railing, were stationed there for my disquietude. He, by the way, had a regular collision with a Dr. H., a violent sectarian, who denounced him as an enemy to the gospel of Jesus Christ. The colloquy that ensued was highly characteristic. Mr. Irving's part of it began with—'Who art thou, O man, that smitest me with thy tongue?'"

Mr. Irving had come to Edinburgh upon this occasion chiefly for the purpose of delivering a series of lectures on Prophecy. "He is drawing," says Dr. Chalmers, "prodigious crowds. We attempted this morning (Friday, 23d) to force our way into St. Andrew's Church, but it was all in vain. He changes to the West Church for the accommodation of the public."

"*Monday, 26th.*—For the first time heard Mr. Irving in the evening. I have no hesitation in saying that it is quite woful. There is power and richness, and gleams of exquisite beauty, but withal a mysticism and an extreme allegorization which I am sure must be pernicious to the general cause. This is the impression of every clergyman I have met, and some think of making a friendly remonstrance with him upon the subject. He sent me a letter he had written to the King against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and begged that I would read every word of it before I spoke. I did so, and found it unsatisfactory and obscure, but not half so much so as his sermon of this evening."

When the Assembly closed Mr. Irving crossed the Forth to

Kirkaldy, where it was announced that he was to preach on the evening of Sabbath the 15th June, in the church of his father-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Martin. The extraordinary popularity which attended his ministrations was upon this occasion the cause of a fearful catastrophe, in which Dr. Chalmers had a painful domestic interest, and which he thus describes in a letter to his sister, Mrs. Morton :—

"*St. Andrews, June 18th*, 1828.—MY DEAREST JANE,—I only returned home two days ago from a long excursion, having been at Edinburgh during the Assembly, and other places, so that I have not lost a day in replying to your letter. I perfectly agree with the soundness and good sense of your observations on the subject of Mr. Irving, whose extravagance and obscurity have placed him far out of my sympathy and sight. He has given twelve lectures on Prophecy to the people of Edinburgh; and certainly there must have been a marvellous power of attraction that could turn a whole population out of their beds so early as five in the morning. The largest church in our metropolis was each time overcrowded. I heard him once; but I must just be honest enough and humble enough to acknowledge that I scarcely understood a single word, nor do I comprehend the ground on which he goes in his violent allegorizations, chiefly of the Old Testament.

" But far the most striking and woful effect of his visit is the death of at least thirty-five people, occasioned by the fall of a gallery, which ran along one side of the church in Kirkaldy, where his father-in-law is minister, and where he himself was to preach on the Sunday evening of the Sacrament. The gallery fell in the whole length of it, while he was in the vestry, and before he came to the pulpit. I myself was in Edinburgh, and did not hear of it till the Monday morning, when I arrived in the steamboat. To me the interest was tremendous; and I had a most uneasy interval between the

first general intimation and the particular account of it, for besides Sandy and his wife and father-in-law, I had Grace and four of our bairns in Kirkaldy on a visit, and, to add to the alarm, their family seat was one of the front ones of the gallery that fell. Sandy was on the beach waiting me, and sent out word that all my friends were safe. But you may judge of the agitation when I was made to know that my daughter Eliza and Sandy's wife were in the gallery that fell, and that Sandy and my wife were in a seat below the opposite gallery, which was expected to fall too, and occasioned a most tremendous rush both above and below. The truth is, that more were killed by the stifling and suffocation towards the doors of the church than on the side where the gallery fell. My Mrs. Chalmers had the presence of mind to sit still. Sandy ran forward to ascertain the safety of his wife and my Eliza, and his stepmother-in-law—Captain Pratt luckily not having gone to church. Sandy was afterwards hoisted out of a window to give his services to the dead and dying in the churchyard. What a dreary interval it must have been to my wife, who looked for her friends among the dead, and did not meet with them for about a quarter of an hour! Mrs. Alexander was pulled out of the rubbish, and lost her bonnet and shawl. Eliza lost a shawl. Many, in being pulled out, left shoes and stockings behind them. Our younger children were in an agony of cries and loud uproar till the mammas and sisters and aunts cast up, some of them bare-headed and dishevelled. Next day they who fell or were fallen upon, began to feel bruises of which they were unconscious in the excitement of the evening before. We expect a visit of Mr. Irving in a day or two. It were surely better, if instead of addressing himself to the faculty of *curiosity*, he dealt with the faculty of *conscience*, in such a series of subjects, for example, as we have in Doddridge's 'Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.'"

The summer months closely filled up fled past rapidly, and autumn brought with it preparations for the coming change. In his Journal for this period Dr. Chalmers inserts the following brief but tender notices of his last days at St. Andrews:—

"*September* 23*d.*—The symptoms of an approaching departure are fast multiplying.

"*Sunday, October* 19*th.*—I staid at home in the afternoon and enjoyed my last Sunday of the beautiful garden of St. Leonards.—A sadness of heart.

"*October* 21*st.*—Mr. Duncan walked with me to the eastern sands; had a view of the vessel that was to carry our furniture.

"*October* 24*th.*—Close attendance on packers; the house now in an uproar, and my St. Andrews establishment shaking to its dissolution.

"*October* 30*th.*—Finished the operations at St. Leonards, and am now spending my last days in St. Andrews with Mr. Duncan.

"*October* 31*st.*—Our vessel sailed to-day; eyed it from St. Leonards tower.

"*November* 3*d.*—Left St. Andrews in a chaise, with Mrs. Chalmers; took leave of Mr. Duncan at his own door; the pathos diverted by the urgencies which attended on our departure; drove along the Shoe-Gate, through the Port, and across the Swilkin Burn, where I took my last look of the Links* and the beautiful verdure near the second hole."

* The Golf-Links, a large tract of grassy sand-hills, peculiarly adapted to the game of golf, of which national amusement St. Andrews may be regarded as the head-quarters. The golfer's object is to strike a small hard ball in as few strokes as possible from one hole to another, the holes being placed at a distance from each other of about four hundred yards. He is attended by a caddie—a man in uniform—who carries his clubs and balls, and who not unfrequently, particularly if he be an unpractised player, acts as his mentor in the game. During the earlier period of his residence at St. Andrews Dr. Chalmers almost daily made a round of the Links, playing at golf with Mr. Duncan, enjoying exceedingly the quiet exercise, and extracting infinite amusement from the free and easy criticisms of the caddies upon the performances of the two professors. He afterwards gave up the practice, imagining that it weakened his capacity for study.

CHAPTER XIII.

INAUGURATION AS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY—INTRODUCTORY LECTURE—LETTER FROM THE REV. MR. MOREHEAD—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL—LETTER FROM SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH—DR. CHALMERS'S SPEECH IN FAVOUR OF THE BILL—DEATH OF HIS BROTHER ALEXANDER AT KIRKALDY.

Dr. Chalmers was inaugurated as Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh on Thursday the 6th of November 1828; and it was announced that his introductory lecture would be delivered on the following Monday, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The morning of that day was singularly unpropitious, showers of snow and hail sweeping through the College courts; yet from so early an hour as nine, those who had secured that privilege were passing by a private entrance into the class-room, while so great a crowd besieged the outer door, that a strong body of police found it difficult to restrain the tumult.

"It was a day," says Mr. Bruce Cunningham, "as you will easily believe, of no common expectation and excitement, not only among those who were professionally required to become his pupils, but also to not a few of the worthiest citizens of Edinburgh, who having once and again listened with impassioned wonder and delight to his mighty words as a preacher of the Gospel, scarcely knew what to expect from him as an academic expounder and disciplinarian in the science of theology. If I may judge of other minds from the state of my own feelings at the time, I may safely state, that at no time,

either before or since, has a tumult of emotions, so peculiar and intense, agitated the hearts of the many who waited for his first appearance in the chair of theology. I well remember his look as he first came from the vestry into the passage leading to the desk. He had an air of extreme abstraction, and at the same time of full presence of mind. Ascending the steps in his familiar resolute manner, he almost immediately engaged in his opening prayer: that was most startling, and yet deeply solemnizing. In closest union with a simple, forcible antithesis of intellectual conception, clothed in still more antithetical expressions, there was the deep vital consciousness of the glory of the Divine presence. The power of the dialectician restrained and elevated by the prayerful reverence as of some prophet in ancient Israel, imparted a most remarkable peculiarity of aspect to his first devotional utterances in the class. On his discourse I shall not presume on *your* patience by any thing like detailed remark. All felt far more deeply than they could worthily declare, that it was a most glorious prelude, and that at once and for ever his right to reign as a king in the broad realms of theological science, and to rule over their own individual minds as a teacher, was as unequivocal as his mastery over a popular assembly. Personally I always feel, in recalling that scene, as if, by some peculiar enchantment of association, I had listened, all unconscious of the present world, to one or other of Handel's most sublime efforts of harmony. To this hour I dwell with all the mysterious delight that is awakened by some grand choral symphony on some of his novel expressions, which, borrowed from physical science, directly tended, by almost more than the force of the best diagrams, to make his noble thoughts all our own."

The introductory lecture was delivered amid rapturous applause; and with scarcely any sensible abatement the excitement of that first meeting was sustained throughout the whole

of the succeeding session. Dr. Chalmers was upon favourite and familiar ground—Natural Theology and the Evidences of Christianity. An opportunity was now afforded him of presenting in an elaborate form the results of prolonged and matured reflection. He had much to animate him in the audience he addressed—an audience altogether unique within the walls of a university, embracing, in addition to his own regular students, distinguished members of the various professions, and many of the most intelligent citizens of Edinburgh. The following communication, which was addressed to him at the close of the session, and which had its origin in the fact, that at the time of his appointment the emoluments of the Chair amounted only to £200 per annum, may give the reader some idea of the extent of non-professional attendance, as well as of the enthusiastic admiration which animated the varied auditory.

"*Edinburgh, April 13th*, 1829.—REVEREND SIR,—It has fallen to me as Preses of a meeting of those gentlemen who, though not enrolled students of divinity, have been kindly permitted by you to attend your Course during the Session of College which has just closed, to state to you the occasion of that meeting being called, and the result to which it has led.

"Highly as we prized the liberal acquiescence with which our wish to profit from your lectures had been met, we yet were sensible that we were encroaching upon the accommodation for the regular students, and were in some measure guilty of an intrusion, the consciousness of which could not but be painful to us. Whatever reasons, too, there may be for the gratis instruction of those who are preparing for the office of the sacred ministry, these, we felt, could not apply to us, and it seemed quite unreasonable that we should enjoy the benefit of your labours without making the customary acknowledgment which is presented to all the teachers in the secular departments of science and letters, merely because the subject-matter of your

prelections was in itself above all price, and we could have no hope that any remuneration could be at all adequate to your manner of treating it. We accordingly came to the resolution of contributing in the form of a very moderate class-fee from each individual, such a sum as we could with propriety request you to accept; and now that it has been made up and lodged in the hands of Messrs. Ramsay and Bonar, I am commissioned respectfully to entreat you to receive our tribute, which, though not in any degree what we could have wished it to be, will yet, we hope, be accepted as an offering of the 'willing mind.'

"We are, indeed, very far, reverend Sir, from imagining that our obligations to you can be lessened by any pecuniary recompense. I am sure that I express the common sentiment with which we are all actuated, when I say that it is only by our lasting admiration and gratitude that we hope at all to be able to repay you for your invaluable instructions; or what would be a return which you would still more highly prize, by so treasuring them in our hearts as to render them visible in our lives and conversation. I must not, however, enlarge on a theme which is the very last to which you will be inclined to lend an ear; yet there are certain conclusions to which, I conceive, your auditors have generally come, from the experience of this first session, which I am desirous briefly and simply to state to you, should you not yourself be quite aware of the importance and success of your exertions.

"It is, then, I am persuaded, a very general impression among those who have had the happiness of listening to your expositions, that you have every prospect, under the blessing of God, of doing for the science of Theology what has never yet been fully effected, and what is more peculiarly requisite in the present age of restless inquiry or supine indifference—to place it conspicuously at the head of the sciences, where it will gratefully, indeed, receive from the others their contributions and

homage, but where it will be stationed far above the obscure regions of their doubts and oppositions. We have had many occasions to admire the force of argument by which you were enabled to lay more firmly its foundations, and the extent of illustration and splendour of eloquence with which you reared and adorned its superstructure, till you brought every branch of human knowledge to bear upon 'the fair form of Christianity,' and it again to reflect its light upon every division of literature and science. In this high effort you ever advanced with a determined and fearless spirit, never checking any inquiry of reason in the apprehension that it might shake our infirm and sickly faith, but rather calling faith to that exercise of hardihood which will be satisfied with nothing short of sound and vigorous inquiry. Even in the short period that we have been observers of your methods of enterprise, we have witnessed their happy influence on the minds of the youthful searchers into truth whom you are rearing around you; we have seen them learning readily to appreciate the strength of the grand cause which it is their future office to defend; and instead of shrinking from the dazzling array of those hazardous speculations of human reason or folly which sometimes seem to threaten the bulwarks of the faith, they have been taught by you to find in the ranks of the enemy themselves, the arms and the auxiliaries by which these very bulwarks may be more securely protected. While there is thus every apparent hope that there will go forth from your school a band of energetic and intelligent disciples, who, while they are the faithful, fervent, and effective servants of a Divine master, will no less, by their general science and literary accomplishments, keep their ground among those who have in our day been too exclusively deemed masters upon earth,—while the Church of your country promises to reap this fruit from your labours, may I further be permitted to suggest, that they are of a kind to embrace a still wider

circle, and such as not only to educate the priest, but to prepare the people. You have an indication of this in the class of individuals in whose name I have now the honour to address you; they belong to a very varied description, and are from every order and profession in society—some, perhaps, who may hitherto in the avocations of the world, or of a mere secular literature, have had but little firm hold of truths which they must now feel to be the noblest and most spirit-stirring they can possibly contemplate; for they have at length heard 'the voice of the charmer,' and they will return to their different stations and pursuits much more disposed, it may be hoped, to carry forward the incalculably important results of the inquiries with which they have here been made conversant; and, at all events, rescued from the miserable weakness of ever again yielding, as they may formerly have been tempted to do, the grand truths of immortality and salvation to the baffled sophisms of the scoffer and unbeliever. It is, indeed, of infinite moment for the religious improvement of society over the face of the land, that a circle of this kind should, year after year, continue to gather around you: in this indirect influence of your efforts no less good is to be expected than in their more peculiar and appropriate application; and it is not only the future ministers of our parishes that will go forth to sow the seed which you have prepared for them, but our landed proprietors, the members of every honourable and liberal profession among us, our respectable citizens, our sons, who are going to distant shores, these will carry sounding in their ears and glowing in their hearts the 'thoughts that breathe and words that burn;' and may not only, through the Divine blessing, be rescued by them in years long after from the blight of spiritual ignorance, or the fatal corruptions of the world, or of philosophy, but may even convey them on, in circle succeeding circle, like the impression made by the pebble upon the waters.

"Before I conclude, there is only one other very pleasing circumstance to which I have peculiar satisfaction in adverting. The course of study which you have adopted for your class has the excellent advantage of softening the predilections of sects and Churches, in as far as these are adverse to the catholic harmony of religion. Among those for whom I speak there are churchmen of different denominations; clergymen of the national establishment, who return again to listen with zealous edification to the arguments and fervour with which you maintain the awful but venerable tenets of their Calvinistic creed; clergymen, too, of the sister Church, who have equal delight to meet once more in the text-books* which you have so liberally introduced, the milder lights of their own eminent divines, reflected back upon them with the mingled comments of a no less powerful and original mind. We have thus been taught to give and take in turn; we pass mutually and amicably into the separate schools of Edwards and of Butler; and while your own warm inspiration is breathed over the whole, we feel as if we were of one heart and of one mind, while, like the primitive Christians of old, the same great truths are announced to each of us in his own customary language and dialect; and with no unpleasing amazement and marvel, we hear 'every man in our own tongue wherein we were born' and reared, the same universal exposition of the 'wonderful works of God.' —Believe me to be, with the most sincere respect and esteem, your faithful and affectionate servant, ROBERT MOREHEAD.†

"P.S.—I beg to inclose an order for £202."

His class-duties were too engrossing for Dr. Chalmers to leave many memorials of this busy winter behind. "I am now,"

* For an explanation of Dr. Chalmers's views on the use of text-books in theological education, see Introductory Lecture to his "Prelections on Butler's Analogy, Paley's Evidences, and Hill's Lectures."—*Posthumous Works*, vol. ix.

† The Rev. Robert Morehead, Episcopal clergyman in Edinburgh, author of "Dialogues on Natural and Revealed Religion," &c., &c.

he writes at the close of November, "in a more amazing bustle than I ever was in my life, but it being the first month of my residence in Edinburgh, I trust it will subside. I have now a written paper in my lobby, shewn by my servant to all and sundry who are making mere calls of attention, which is just telling them in a civil way to go about their business. If any thing will check intrusion, this at length must." There was but little subsiding as the session advanced; and towards its termination, the bustle received no small addition from the part taken by Dr. Chalmers in the great public question which then agitated the political world. On the 5th of February 1829, the King's Speech startled the country by a recommendation that Parliament should take it into consideration, whether the civil disabilities imposed upon Roman Catholics might not be removed, "consistently with the full and permanent security of our establishments in Church and State." The popularity of O'Connell, the power of the Catholic Association, and the effects of the Clare election, had hurried Ireland to the brink of rebellion; and now, with tardy grace, and as wrung from them by something like compulsion, the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, the very ministers who had so long and so vigorously opposed the Catholic claims, came forward with the measure for their relief. The feeling against the proposed concessions was much stronger and more general in the country than in Parliament, and the friends of the measure sought to strengthen their position by all such aid as they could command. On the 27th of February, a few days before Mr. Peel laid the Catholic Relief Bill before Parliament, Sir James Mackintosh wrote to Dr. Chalmers.

"*Clapham Common, 27th February* 1829.—REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—I have always understood your opinion to be favourable to the abolition of all civil disabilities for religion. If you retain that opinion, it now stands in the utmost need of your

patronage. Popular frenzy, which may, perhaps, revive court intrigue, is at work to dispel a union of all statesmen, certainly produced only by a sense of public necessity. One of the unfortunate circumstances of this clamour is, that it professes to arise from religion, and, I am very sorry to say, does often issue from men who are truly religious.

"That the character of the Protestant religion is concerned in shewing that it does not rely on intolerance towards others for its safety—that its unmolested state where it is that of a minority, is best assured by its toleration when it is that of the State—that a question respecting the civil rights of the individuals of a religious communion is a purely political question, and that the minds of Roman Catholics would be best opened to Protestant argument, by the cessation of Protestant hostility against them—are propositions to which I should think that you assent, and which if you do, no other man could enforce at this moment with so much authority and effect. Whatever construction you may adopt of prophecies, you, I am sure, will not deem it decent to petition Kings and Parliaments not to defeat them.

"But why should I speak of arguments or topics of persuasion to you, from whom it would be more becoming me gratefully to receive them.

"Considering the present employment of the pulpit here, I should very humbly suggest to you, whether a sermon preached and printed by you would not be a fitting measure. But of the mode of making your weighty opinion known, you are best qualified to decide; I can only say, that delay may lessen its efficacy.—I am, my dear Sir, most respectfully and faithfully yours, J. MACKINTOSH.

"P.S.—Nothing more is absolutely necessary than general reliance on Parliament to secure the Protestant establishments, Episcopal or Presbyterian."

To the above letter Dr. Chalmers replied as follows :—

"*Edinburgh, March 2d,* 1829.—MY DEAR SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH,—I feel myself much honoured by your communication. I have never had but one sentiment on the subject of the Catholic disabilities, and it is that the Protestant cause has been laid by them under very heavy disadvantage, and that we shall gain prodigiously from the moment that, by the removal of them, the question between us and our opponents is reduced to a pure contest between truth and error.

"I have long lamented the obliquity of understanding which obtains upon this topic among religious people; I am not at all sure, however, that the majority of these are anti-emancipationists, and I feel strongly persuaded that among such of them as combine with their decided Christianity a high degree of intellectual culture, a very large majority are in favour of emancipation.

"My professional duties have kept me very much at home since I came to Edinburgh, and I therefore cannot form any correct idea of the state of sentiment on this question in the Scotch metropolis. All the emancipationists, however, whom I have met with, think it better to remain quiet, unless provoked to bestir themselves by any demonstration of principle on the other side of the question, so that should nothing appear in Parliament from this quarter, it may very fairly be construed into a mark of the general reliance which is placed on the wisdom and safety of the measures now in agitation. Should there be a public meeting on the side of emancipation, I shall hold it my duty to attend and give my testimony in its favour. This I would do on religious grounds only, believing, as I do, that nothing has more impeded the progress of sound and scriptural Christianity in Ireland, than the unseemly alliance between such Christianity on the one hand, and intolerance on the other.

"I have already delivered two public statements against the system, which I trust a few weeks will now put an end to: one in a sermon preached at Belfast, and another in a sermon preached at the opening of Mr. Irving's church in London. They are both printed, and I shall direct Mr. Nisbet, bookseller in Berners Street, to send them to you. You flatter me by your opinion, that a special publication on the subject at this time would be of service to the cause; but I have really nothing to advance which has not been stated with far greater power than I have stated them, by the friends of civil and religious liberty already; and if the bare knowledge of the fact of my being an advocate for Catholic emancipation can be of any service, it is a matter of which I have made no secret, and which indeed is well known to all my acquaintances.

"I have been much gratified by your notice, and I shall now feel myself at liberty to communicate with you in future on certain points connected with this question, about which I do feel very strongly. I am against a national provision for the Catholic clergy, and I am against the alienation of any part, however small, from the revenues of the Irish Church as at present constituted. Both these have been mentioned; and I think that cause can be shewn why, in consistency with the policy and the principle of an entire removal of what is commonly understood by the Catholic disabilities, neither of these measures should be gone into. I think that enough is done, simply by placing Catholics on the same footing with all other Dissenters. But I will not occupy farther your time upon this subject at present.

"You, of course, may make any use whatever of this communication.

"I beg to offer my respectful compliments to Lady Mackintosh and to Mrs. Rich, whose society I had the pleasure and the privilege of enjoying for a few days when she was last in Scotland."

Instead of adopting the suggestion of Sir James Mackintosh,

Dr. Chalmers waited till a meeting of citizens was summoned, in order to petition in favour of the Bill. The Edinburgh Assembly Rooms have seldom exhibited such a spectacle as was displayed there on Saturday the 14th of March. The crisis was an unusual one, and it brought together an extraordinary assemblage. After Sir James W. Moncreiff and Mr. Jeffrey had addressed the meeting, Dr. Chalmers rose, and after some preliminary remarks, proceeded to say,—

"We are not Pro-Catholic. We are not hostile, neither are we indifferent to the holy cause of Protestantism. I cannot answer for others; but in vindication of myself, I can at least say it is in the spirit of devotedness to that cause that I come here, and because in this emancipation of Papists I see for Protestants a still greater and more glorious emancipation. The truth is, that these disabilities have hung as a dead weight around the Protestant cause for more than a century. They have enlisted in opposition to it some of the most unconquerable principles of nature; resentment because of injury, and the pride of adherence to a suffering cause. They have transformed the whole nature of the contest, and by so doing they have rooted and given tenfold obstinacy to error. They have given to our side the hateful aspect of tyranny; while on theirs we behold a generous and high-minded resistance to what they deem to be oppression. They have transformed a nation of heretics into a nation of heroes. We could have refuted and shamed the heretic out of his errors, but we cannot bring down the hero from his altitude; and thus it is, that from the first introduction of this heterogeneous element into the question, the cause of truth has gone backward. It has ever since been met by the unyielding defiance of a people irritated but not crushed, under a sense of indignity; and this notable expedient for keeping down the Popery of Ireland has only compressed it into a firmness, and closed it into a phalanx,

which, till opened up by emancipation, we shall find to be impenetrable.

"Gentlemen would draw arguments from history against us: but there is one passage in history which they never can dispose of. How comes it that Protestantism made such triumphant progress in these realms when it had pains and penalties to struggle with? and how came this progress to be arrested from the moment it laid on these pains and penalties in its turn? What have all the enactments of the Statute-Book done for the cause of Protestantism in Ireland? and how is it, that when single-handed truth walked through our island with the might and prowess of a conqueror, so soon as propped by the authority of the State, and the armour of intolerance was given to her, the brilliant career of her victories was ended? It was when she took up the carnal and laid down the spiritual weapon—it was then that strength went out of her. She was struck with impotency on the instant that from a warfare of principle it became a warfare of politics. There are gentlemen opposed to us profound in the documents of history; but she has really nothing to offer half so instructive as the living history that is now before our eyes. With the pains and penalties to fight against, the cause of Reformation did almost every thing in Britain; with the pains and penalties on its side it has done nothing, and worse than nothing, in Ireland.

"But after all, it is a question which does not require the evidence of history for its elucidation. There shines upon it an immediate light from the known laws and principles of human nature. When truth and falsehood enter into collision upon equal terms, and do so with their own appropriate weapons, the result is infallible. *Magna est veritas et prevalebit.* But if to strengthen the cause of truth you put the forces of the Statute-Book under her command, there instantly starts up on the side of falsehood an auxiliary far more formidable. You

may lay an incapacity on the persons, or you may put restraint and limitation on the property of Catholics; but the Catholic mind becomes tenfold more impregnable than before. We know the purpose of these disabilities. They were meant to serve as a barrier of defence for Protestants *against* the encroachments of Popery; and they have turned out a barrier of defence *for* Papists against the encroachments of Protestantism. They were intended as a line of circumvallation around the strongholds of the Protestant faith; and in effect they have been a line of circumvallation around the strongholds of the Catholic faith. It is to force those now difficult and inaccessible strongholds that I want this wall of separation taken down. When I speak of force it is the combined force of truth and charity that I mean; and it is precisely because I believe *it* to be omnipotent that I am an Emancipationist. It is precisely because I agree with the Duke of Wellington in thinking that, if the political distinction were done away the result would be the spread of Protestantism in Ireland. Had we been suffered to mingle more extensively with our Catholic fellow-subjects, and to company with them in the walks of civil and political business, there would at this day have been the transfusion of another feeling, the breath of another spirit amongst them; nor should we have beheld as now the impracticable countenance, the resolute and unyielding attitude of an aggrieved and outcast population.

"I am sensible of one advantage which our opponents have against us, and that is a certain command over the religious feelings of the population: and yet I am not aware of any public topic on which the popular and prevailing cry ever ran so counter as it does at present to the whole drift and spirit of Christianity. What other instruments do we read of in the New Testament for the defence and propagation of the faith, but the Word of God and the Spirit of God? How does

the Apostle explain the principle of its triumphs in that age when truth was so mighty to the pulling down of strongholds? It was because the weapons of his warfare were not carnal. He confined himself to the use of spiritual weapons, the only ones by which to assail the strongholds either of Popery or Paganism. The kingdom of God, which is not of this world, refuses to be indebted for its advancement to any other. Reason, and Scripture, and prayer—these compose, or ought to compose, the whole armory of Protestantism; and it is by these alone that the battles of the faith can be successfully fought. It is since the admission of intolerance, that unseemly associate, within our camp, that the cause of the Reformation has come down from its vantage ground; and from the moment it wrested this engine from the hands of its adversaries, and began to wield and brandish it itself, from that moment it has been at a dead stand. We want to be disencumbered of this weight, and to be restored thereby to our own free and proper energies. We want truth and force to be dissevered from each other, the moral and spiritual to be no longer implicated with the grossly physical; for never shall we prosper, and never shall we prevail in Ireland, till our cause be delivered from the outrage and the contamination of so unholy an alliance.

"It is not because I hold Popery to be innocent that I want the removal of these disabilities; but because I hold, that if these were taken out of the way she would be tenfold more assailable. It is not because I am indifferent to the good of Protestantism that I want to displace these artificial crutches from under her; but because I want that, freed from every symptom of decrepitude and decay, she should stand forth in her own native strength, and make manifest to all men how firm a support she has on the goodness of her cause, and on the basis of her orderly and well laid arguments. It is because I count so much—and will any Protestant here present say that

I count too much?—on her Bible, and her evidences, and the blessing of God upon her Churches, and the force of her resistless appeals to the conscience and the understandings of men; it is because of her strength and sufficiency in these that I would disclaim the aids of the Statute-Book, and own no dependence or obligation whatever on a system of intolerance. These were enough for her in the days of her suffering, and should be more than enough for her in the days of her comparative safety. It is not by our fears and our false alarms that we do honour to Protestantism. A far more befitting honour to the great cause is the homage of our confidence; for what Sheridan said of the liberty of the press, admits of most emphatic application to this religion of truth and liberty. 'Give,' says that great orator, 'give to ministers a corrupt House of Commons; give them a pliant and a servile House of Lords; give them the keys of the Treasury and the patronage of the Crown; and give me the liberty of the press, and with this mighty engine I will overthrow the fabric of corruption, and establish upon its ruins the rights and privileges of the people.' In like manner, give the Catholics of Ireland their emancipation; give them a seat in the Parliament of their country; give them a free and equal participation in the politics of the realm; give them a place at the right ear of majesty, and a voice in his counsels; and give me the circulation of the Bible, and with this mighty engine I will overthrow the tyranny of Antichrist, and establish the fair and original form of Christianity on its ruins.*

"The politics of the question I have left to other and abler hands. I view it only in its religious bearings; and I give it as my honest conviction, and I believe the conviction of every

* "The delivery of this splendid passage, which was given with prodigious force, elicited a burst of applause so deafening and enthusiastic, that the effect was altogether sublime. The shouts and huzzas were thrice renewed, and it was with difficulty the speaker could proceed."—*Caledonian Mercury, March* 1829.

true-hearted Protestant who knows wherein it is that the great strength of his cause lies, that we have every thing to hope from this proposed emancipation, and that we have nothing to fear."*

"The effects of that speech," says Mr. Ramsay, "have been described as something very remarkable. An excitement and enthusiasm pervaded the large and closely crowded assemblage seldom witnessed in modern times. I heard our most distinguished Scottish critic, (Lord Jeffrey,) who was present on the occasion, give it as his deliberate opinion, that never had eloquence produced a greater effect upon a popular assembly, and that he could not believe more had ever been done by the oratory of Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke, or Sheridan."†

At an extraordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, held on the 1st of April, Dr. Chalmers had another opportunity, of which he availed himself, for explaining still more fully the grounds upon which he advocated the removal from Roman Catholics of all civil disabilities. The reader will find in the Appendix the speech delivered by him on this occasion.‡ The opinions thus expressed, which had not been hastily adopted, Dr. Chalmers never saw reason to change; and even, if at the moment of their utterance it had been suggested to him that consequences very different from those contemplated should be the result, he might have quoted and adopted those prophetic words with which, in introducing the measure for Catholic

* "The conclusion of the reverend Doctor's speech was greeted with renewed shouts and huzzas, the whole audience standing and waving their hats in the air. This lasted several minutes, and it was not without difficulty that the tumult of admiration was allayed."—*Caledonian Mercury, March* 1829.

"I was quite uncomfortable in speaking, from my excessively high pitch of voice, beneath which I could not fall. It was well received, notwithstanding. I have uniformly experienced the insincerity of that pleasure which is afforded by the praise of others."—*Journal, March 14th*, 1829.

† *Biographical Notice*, &c., by the Very Rev. E. B. Ramsay. Edinburgh, 1850. Octavo edition, p. 84.

‡ See Appendix F.

emancipation into the House of Commons, Mr. Peel closed his memorable speech :—

"I trust by the means now proposed the moral storm may be lulled into a calm, that the waters of strife may subside, and the elements of discord be stilled and composed. But if these expectations be disappointed,—if, unhappily, civil strife and contentions shall still take place,—if the differences existing between us do not arise out of artificial distinctions and unequal privileges, but if there be something in the character of a Roman Catholic religion, a something not to be contented with a participation of equal privileges or any thing short of superiority, still I shall be content to make the trial. If the battle must be fought,—if the contest which we would now avoid cannot be averted by those means,—let the worst come to the worst, the battle will be fought for other objects, the contest will take place on other grounds. The contest then will be, not for an equality of civil rights, but for the predominance of an intolerant religion. I say we can fight that battle to greater advantage—(if, indeed, those more gloomy predictions shall be realized, and if our more favourable hopes shall not be justified by the result,)—we can fight that battle against the predominance of an intolerant religion more advantageously after this measure shall have passed, than we could at present. Under these circumstances, we shall have the sympathy of other nations; we shall, on entering the contest, have dissolved the great moral alliance that existed among the Roman Catholics in consequence of those disabilities; we shall have with us those great and illustrious authorities that long supported this measure, and which will then be transferred to us and ranged upon our side; and I do not doubt that in that contest we shall be victorious, aided, as we shall be, by the unanimous feeling of all classes of society in this country, as demonstrated in the numerous peti-

tions presented to this House, in which I find the best and most real securities for the maintenance of our Protestant Constitution; aided, I will add, by the union of orthodoxy and dissent; by the assenting voice of Scotland; and, if other aid be necessary, cheered by the sympathies of every free state, and by the wishes and prayers of every free man in whatever clime, or under whatever form of government he may live."

It was a touching transition from the stir of Edinburgh politics to the stillness of the death-chamber. On the 22d April, Dr. Chalmers's youngest and favourite brother, Alexander, died at Kirkaldy. He was cut off in the prime of a most hopeful manhood, to the deep affliction of all his relatives and friends, to whom his sunny, joyous, and most social disposition had peculiarly endeared him. Dr. Chalmers was not present at the closing scene. On the following day, however, he was at Kirkaldy, from which place he thus writes to Mrs. Chalmers. "23*d April*.—His sufferings seem to have been extreme; and there is every reason to believe that he thought himself dying, from this circumstance, as well as from others, that he said when coughing violently—'A few more, and then there will be a long rest.'"

"25*th April*.—It was a large funeral. The sun shone sweetly on the burial-place. I was like to give way when, after leaving the grave, I passed Mr. Fergus; neither of us could speak. Oh that God would interpose to perpetuate the impressions of this day! This is the fifth time within these few years that I have been chief mourner, and carried the head of a relative to the grave. But this has been far the heaviest of them all.

"26*th April*.—I alternated my employments within doors by walks in the little garden, where all the objects exposed me to gushes of mournful remembrance. The plants—the petrified tree—the little cistern for water-plants—the rain-gauge—all abandoned by the hand which had placed them there, and

took such delight in tending them. I could even fancy the dog to have a certain melancholy air from the want of customary attentions. I this day visited the grave, exposed to full sunshine. I have never felt any bereavement so much.

"27*th April*.—I must say that this day (Monday) has been to me the one of most pathetic feeling. In getting out his papers, I had to examine the drawers and scrutoirs, where I had the sight of many of his favourite objects—shells, insects, dried plants, &c. I could not help being much moved by a sort of chronicle of the rain that he was keeping in a particular way, having framed a sort of scheme which he meant to fill up for future years. Such a date, for example, as 1830, which death has prevented him from ever reaching, was very affecting to me.

"29*th April*.—Of all the letters I have received, I like Mrs. Coutts's the best. We are sadly deficient in faithfulness to each other on the high topics of eternity, and she touches upon that in a way the most feeling and applicable. I have written to her this afternoon."

The letter written in these circumstances was as follows:—

"*Kirkaldy, April* 29*th*, 1829.—MY DEAR MADAM,—I have just received your very admirable letter. I feel the force and application of its sentiments. May God enable me henceforth to be instant in season and out of season, in spite of that accursed delicacy which so strangely paralyzes every wish and every effort to hold converse with another on the highest of all interests, on the most urgent and affecting of all concerns.

"Mrs. Chalmers here was in greatest distress on the day of the funeral, but was recovering gradually till to-day, when she has again sunk, I suspect from the circumstance of this being the day of the week when the death took place. Mrs. M'Clellan, my sister, has arrived from the south this afternoon. I do sincerely hope that the feelings excited by this sad occa-

sion will turn to a religious account. But what a difference between emotion and principle—as great as between nature and grace; and what need of prayer, that these frail hearts may be kept stedfast in their dependence on the atoning blood of the Redeemer, and in their aspirations after holiness.

"I have been chief mourner within these few years on five different occasions, but this is far the most touching of them all.—I am, my dear Madam, yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

CHAPTER XIV.

DOCTRINAL ERRORS OF MR. IRVING, MR. ERSKINE, AND MR. CAMPBELL —ALLEGED REAPPEARANCE OF MIRACULOUS GIFTS—WRITINGS IN UNKNOWN CHARACTERS—DR. CHALMERS'S VISIT TO LONDON—EVIDENCE ON THE IRISH POOR-LAW—ON THE NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION PROPOSED TO BE INTRODUCED INTO IRELAND—CONVERSATION WITH MR. COLERIDGE—DINNER AT MR. HOARE'S—DR. CHALMERS AND MR. WILBERFORCE—APPOINTMENT AS ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S CHAPLAINS FOR SCOTLAND—OPENING OF A CHAPEL AT BRISTOL—TESTIMONY IN FAVOUR OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—CONVERSATIONS WITH DR. CHALMERS REPORTED BY MR. GURNEY —PRESENTATION TO THE KING AND QUEEN.

From the toils of his first session Dr. Chalmers retired to summer quarters at Penicuik. Varied only by two excursions to Ayrshire the summer months of 1829 passed quietly away. November saw him immersed once more in his professorial labours, from which he was glad to make his escape at Christmas, to spend the holidays at St. Andrews. Carrying with him the kindliest affection for all his former colleagues, he was delighted to find that in every quarter that affection was reciprocated. Old differences were forgotten, and the cordial intercourse of these few days yielded to him a pure and exquisite delight.

In the religious world this was a winter of doctrinal waywardness, perplexity, and strife. Not satisfied with those excursions over the vast and obscure field of prophecy on which he had so adventurously but so confidently entered, Mr. Irving had broached strange sentiments regarding the mortality and peccability of Christ's human nature. Mr. Erskine's * treatise on the

* Thomas Erskine, Esq. of Linlathan.

"Freeness of the Gospel" had appeared to many to run counter to the strict doctrine of Calvinism; while from the sequestered banks of a lovely Highland loch rumours arose of still wider doctrinal deviations, which took at last so definite a form that the Gairloch heresy became matter not only of much public discussion, but of judicial investigation by the Courts of the Church. The Rev. Mr. Campbell of Row, a young minister of ardent piety, but of slender theological discrimination, in preaching on the extent of the atonement, in asserting that all men's sins were already pardoned, and insisting on assurance of personal salvation as being of the very essence of saving faith, was teaching doctrines at variance with the standards of his Church. Against all these different errors numberless sermons were preached, reviews written, and pamphlets published. Amid this conflict of opinion, of which he was far from an unmoved spectator, Dr. Chalmers preserved unbroken silence. From the daring speculations of Mr. Irving he sensitively shrunk back; but his strong convictions as to the unconditional freeness of the gospel offer, and his substantial agreement with many of the leading doctrines of those generally denominated "*Marrow-men*,"* disposed him to judge mildly of the errors of Mr. Erskine and Mr. Campbell. It was during this winter that an intelligent friend residing generally in the country called upon him in Edinburgh. It was a holiday, and Dr. Chalmers proposed that the two hours he could devote to conversation should be spent in sauntering through the Museum of the University. "We had some conversation," says this friend, in describing the interview, "about the heresy. Dr. Chalmers said over and over again that he thought Mr. Erskine's 'Freeness' one of the most delightful books that ever had been written. It seems to me that the Gospel had never appeared to him in any very different light

* For a statement of these doctrines see "Gospel Truth Delineated," by the Rev. Mr. Bruce of Whitburn.

from that in which Mr. Erskine represents it. He regrets that there is any controversy, for he thinks that there is little difference. That every one is already pardoned he thinks clearly contrary to Scripture; and he objects to Mr. Erskine seeming to think that those who have not received this truth have not received the Gospel. 'I don't like,' he said, 'narrowing the broad basis of the Gospel to the pin-point speculations of an individual brain. One thing (he added, and his countenance assumed a look of deep feeling) I fear, I do fear that the train of his thoughts might ultimately lead Mr. Erskine to doubt the eternity of future punishments. Now that would be going sadly against Scripture.' In our progress he was arrested by an ancient Babylonish brick inscribed with unknown characters. I wish you could have heard him enlarge on the interest of gazing on what perhaps contained stores of knowledge which could throw such light on history, of gazing on what contained the ideas of some individual or nation, while reflecting no ideas back on us,—and yet these characters have taken their birth from a human mind—and how long ago! He placed himself opposite a lion: 'I never look on that spectacle,' he said, 'without feeling reflected from it the expression of a positive virtue,—the noble independence, the dignified generosity, the dauntless courage.' * * * I never saw any person so happy as he seems. He looks upon both the political and religious agitation of the times with the comfortable conviction of the enthusiast, that great good will come out of all, and is not in the least disturbed."

With Mr. Irving, Mr. Erskine, Mr. Campbell, and their chief followers, it had long been a matter of belief that the miraculous gifts conferred upon the primitive Church had been promised to the Church universal, and that it was lack of faith alone which prevented their being at any time enjoyed. They desired, they prayed for, they expected their return. At last,

the startling announcement reached the public ear, that the miraculous gifts of the day of Pentecost had reappeared. On a Sabbath evening in the end of March, Mary Campbell was lying on a bed of weakness, and what seemed likely to prove a bed of death. Her sister, a female friend, and one or two of the household, were engaged along with her in prayer, when suddenly she was visited by a mysterious impulse, and with almost superhuman strength and in a loud exalted tone, she poured forth in some unknown tongue "a volume of majestic sound." Occasionally, in moments of inspiration, seizing pen or pencil, and writing with lightning speed, she covered scraps of paper with strange characters, said to be of an unknown language. Not long after, at a prayer-meeting in Port-Glasgow, the same pretended gift of tongues was exercised by a person named M'Donald; and there as elsewhere miraculous cures were alleged to have been wrought.

The sensation excited by the first announcement of these pretended miracles was much greater than it is easy now to conceive. Mr. Erskine visited the west of Scotland, and at once declared it to be his belief that the utterances to which he listened were the fruits of inspiration.* On the first receipt

* "For the languages are distinct, well inflected, well compacted languages: they are not random collections of sounds, they are composed of words of various lengths, with the natural variety, and yet possessing that commonness of character which marks them to be one distinct language. I have heard many people speak gibberish, but this is not gibberish, it is decidedly well compacted language."—*Extract from pamphlet by Mr. Erskine, entitled "Gifts of the Spirit,"* p. 16.

Speaking of the utterances as heard afterwards in his own church in Regent Square, Mr. Irving says, "But no one hearing and observing the utterance could for a moment doubt it, inasmuch as the whole utterance, from the beginning to the ending of it, is with a power and strength and fulness, and sometimes rapidity of voice, altogether different from that of the person's ordinary utterance in any mood; and I would say, both in its form and in its effects upon a simple mind, quite supernatural. There is a power in the voice to thrill the heart and overawe the spirit after a manner which I have never felt. There is a march, and a majesty, and a sustained grandeur in the voice, especially of those who prophesy, which I have never heard even a resemblance to, except now and then in the sublimest and

of the intelligence, Dr. Chalmers declared himself ready to believe whatever was substantiated upon unchallengeable evidence; and having gone to stay for a few days at Broomhall, he writes:—"*April* 22*d*.—We arrived in safety. Have just time to say that Lady Elgin is much interested by the accounts I have brought her of the doings in the west. If anything more transpires there, do let us know it immediately by letter." "*April* 26*th*.—We are all greatly interested by the west country proceedings, and are hearing daily of them."

On returning from Broomhall, Dr. Chalmers left Edinburgh for London, not forgetting, however, amid all his preparations for appearing before the Committee of the House then sitting on the state of Ireland, to take with him one of Mary Campbell's autographs, for the purpose of submitting it to some of the oriental scholars of the metropolis. He went to London at the solicitation of Mr. Spring Rice, who had written him to the following effect:—

"Wimpole Street, *March* 26*th*, 1830.

"Sir,—I make no apology for the liberty I take in addressing you. I feel convinced that my motive will be in itself an apology. Engaged as I am in the prosecution of an important duty to my country, you will I am satisfied pardon me if through you I seek to obtain information that can be practically applied

most impassioned moods of Mrs. Siddons and Miss O'Neil. It is a mere abandonment of all truth to call it screaming or crying: it is the most majestic and divine utterance which I have ever heard, some parts of which I never heard equalled, and no part of it surpassed, by the finest execution of genius and of art exhibited at the oratorios in the Concerts of Ancient Music. And when the speech utters itself in the way of a psalm or spiritual song, it is the likest to some of the most simple and ancient chants in the cathedral service; insomuch that I have been often led to think that those chants, of which some can be traced up as high as the days of Ambrose, are recollections and transmissions of the inspired utterances in the primitive Church. So far from being unmeaning gibberish, as the thoughtless and heedless sons of Belial have said, it is regularly formed, well pronounced, deeply felt discourse, which evidently wanteth only the ear of him whose native tongue it is to make it a very masterpiece of powerful speech."

for the lessening of human suffering. You are aware that I have obtained the appointment of a Committee on the state of the Irish poor. Our inquiries are now in progress, and I am charged with the laborious duty of chairman. Many members of Parliament recommend the introduction into Ireland of the English system of Poor-laws: others suggest a modification of that system: the practice of Scotland is referred to by a third class. On all these points, but more particularly with respect to your own experience in North Britain, your evidence would be of the most extreme value and importance, if it were possible for you to visit London during the session. I am unwilling to summon you without your permission, being well aware of the value of your time and the important functions you are called upon to perform; but if not entirely inconsistent with other duties and engagements, I should take the liberty of naming you to the Committee, and calling for your attendance.—I am, with sincere respect, your very obedient humble servant,

T. Spring Rice."

The opportunity which this invitation presented of unfolding his peculiar opinions as to pauperism was too favourable to be neglected, and Dr. Chalmers at once consented to go. After having given a statement of his general objections to Poor-laws, and a very full detail of his proceedings in Glasgow with their results, Dr. Chalmers was asked—

"From the attention you have been able to give to the condition of Ireland, in the course of your observation and study, do you conceive that there exist in that country any difficulties to prevent the application of your general principles to Ireland?—Though not minutely or statistically acquainted with Ireland, I have great faith in the identity of human nature all the world over, and certainly my general convictions on the subject of pauperism refer as much to Ireland as to any other country.

"It would appear from the evidence taken before this Com-

mittee, that many of the agricultural districts of Ireland are now in what may be called a transition state, and that there is a tendency in altering the system of managing lands, to consolidate farms, and to unite together small farms of five or ten acres into large farms of thirty and forty acres, the small cottagers passing into the state of labourers, which change seems to be productive of pressure upon the population; do you consider that those circumstances would render the introduction of any principle of assessment advisable or necessary?—The introduction of the principle of assessment would just have the same effect upon the population now about to leave their farms that it has upon operative manufacturers in a season of depression; it would keep them together, and subject the parishes permanently to the evil resulting from a redundant population, and prevent that natural distribution of the people which is best adapted to the new state of things.

"The population of Ireland being chiefly potato-fed, which is a crop attended with great fluctuations and casualties, do you consider that those fluctuations and casualties would render a system of compulsory relief advisable?—Quite the reverse.

"In what respect do you consider the assessment principle would be productive of evil under such circumstances?—I think it would just add to the recklessness and improvidence of the people, and so land the country in a still greater population without increased means of maintaining them. If I may be permitted, I will advert to a principle which I think may be called the pervading fallacy in the speculations of those who advocate the establishment of a Poor-rate in Ireland, and is founded on the observation of a connexion between a high state of character and a high state of economic comfort. It is quite palpable that so it is in fact; but there seems to be an important mistake in the order of causation. It is often conceived that comfort is the cause and character is the effect;

now I hold that character is the cause and that comfort is the effect. It does not appear that if you lay hold of a man thirty or forty years old, with his inveterate habits, and improve his economic condition, by giving him, through a Poor-rate or otherwise, £3 or £4 a year more, it does not appear to me that this man will be translated thereby into other habits or higher tastes, but he will dissipate it generally in the same reckless and sordid kind of indulgence to which he had been previously accustomed; whereas, if instead of taking hold of the man, and attempting to elevate him by the improvement of his economic condition, you take hold of the boy, and attempt to infuse into him the other element, which I conceive to be the causal one, by means of education, then you will, through the medium of character, work out an improvement in his economic condition. What I should advise is, that education be made universal in Ireland, and that you should weather for a season the annoyance of Ireland's mendicity, and the annoyance of that pressure which I conceive to be altogether temporary. This appears to me the only principle upon which Ireland can be securely and effectually brought to a higher standard of enjoyment, and into the state of a well-habited and well-conditioned peasantry. I think that if patiently waited for, very great results might be looked for ere another generation pass away; but then the establishment of a Poor-law would throw a very heavy obstruction indeed on that educational process, to which alone I look for a permanent improvement in the state of Ireland.

"You have stated that you conceive the tendency of the principle of assessment would be to increase population, and to create or to increase habits of improvidence and inconsiderate marriages; now, if it is shewn that in Ireland the population has increased more rapidly, and that greater improvidence exists than in Britain, how would you reconcile those two statements, your statement of principle and this statement of fact?—I am

quite sensible of the effect which this complication of the problem has had in casting what may be called a general obscuration over it. If the only element upon which the standard of enjoyment depended was a Poor-rate, and if in point of fact we saw in a country where a Poor-rate was established a much higher standard of enjoyment than in a country where there was no Poor-rate, the inference would be a very fair one—establish the Poor-rate there, and we shall bring the people up to a higher standard. But the whole matter is mixed and complicated with other influences; there are other elements than the Poor-rate which enter into the question of a nation's prosperity, and have a deciding influence on the taste and condition of the people. The low standard of enjoyment in Ireland is attributable not to the want of a Poor-rate, but to other causes—to misgovernment and to imperfect education. On the other hand, there has been a gradual elevation of the people of England, keeping pace with its commerce, its growth in general opulence, its pure administration of justice. The better condition of its people is no more due to its Poor-rate than it is to its national debt. Its high standard of enjoyment is not in consequence of its Poor-rate, but in spite of its Poor-rate. I believe that had there been no Poor-rate in England, there would have been a higher standard of enjoyment than there is now; and, on the other hand, that if there had been a Poor-rate in Ireland, there would have been a lower standard of enjoyment there than there is at present. In a word, had the condition of the two countries with reference to the single circumstance of a Poor-rate been reversed, there would have been a still wider difference between them in favour of England and against Ireland, than there is at this moment.

"You conceive that if you were to add to the causes which have tended to increase rapidly the population of Ireland and to produce improvidence and recklessness on the part of the

people, an additional cause tending in the same direction, namely, the establishment of a Poor-rate, you conceive the evils already existing would be very much augmented?—They would. If it is intended to introduce the system of Poor-rate into Ireland with a view of elevating the standard of enjoyment, or elevating the general condition of the families of Ireland, this is an aim far different from the ordinary purpose of a Poor-rate. The aim of the present system of Poor-rate is to rescue a fraction of the people from extreme wretchedness; but should it aim at the still more magnificent object of raising the general population above the level and the rate of its present enjoyments, the very expense of such an achievement, extending to a million families in Ireland, would seem to fasten upon the scheme the charge of being utterly impracticable, besides utterly failing in its object, for that is really not the way of raising a people to higher tastes and habits of enjoyment.

"Do you not consider that the improvidence of the people, and their recklessness in consequence of the increase of their numbers, will be found in a direct proportion to their misery and degradation, provided the misery is not of that cast which immediately affects human life?—I think that the causal and antecedent influence in the whole matter is a moral one. The people are in an uneducated state, with perhaps no great infusion of Christian principle in their minds; it is this which produces misery and a low economic condition, and if brought out of this by direct educational means, it will operate favourably upon their providential habits so as to restrain the tendency of the country to over-population.

"Are you of opinion that a measure of colonization upon an extended scale, applied as a national effort to the pauperism of the United Kingdom, especially of Ireland, would be a beneficial measure, facilitating the introduction of amended laws, and of a more judicious management of the poor, and if blended

with a judicious education, would produce improved habits of thinking on the part of the lower classes, especially the younger portion of them?—I think it would be beneficial; but I do not think that the application of the general cure should wait for the scheme of colonization, though I think that such a scheme might operate as an auxiliary to the cure. In this view, a scheme of colonization might be very useful."

The project was at this time entertained of introducing a national system of education into Ireland, and much difference of opinion existed as to the place which Scriptural instruction should have in such schools as were instituted by Government. The following questions and answers on this subject are inserted here, as the great question of National Education as to England and Scotland still lies open; and as some interest may attach to the opinions expressed by Dr. Chalmers at this particular period.

"What observations would you make to the Committee upon the principles laid down in that Report,* which, whilst it connects religious instruction essentially with the principles of national education, in order to meet the difficulties of a mixed community leaves that religious instruction which is rendered absolutely necessary, under the supervision of the respective ministers of the various denominations?—My approbation of the leading principle in that Report depends upon the construction which is given to it. 'Resolved, That this Committee, with reference to the opinions above recorded, consider that no system of education can be expedient which may be calculated to influence or disturb the peculiar tenets of any sect or denomination of Christians.' If it be meant by this clause that there shall be no compulsion on Catholics to attend the Scriptural class, I quite agree with it; but if it be meant by this clause that in deference to any principle or inclination of theirs there shall be no Scriptural class open to the demand

* Report of Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Classes.

of every parent who may choose that his children may attend it, to that I would not agree, and on this matter I would hold no negotiation with any party whatever; but instituting a school on what I judge to be the best constitution for one, I would hold it forth to the free choice of all the parochial families, and I think that a Scriptural class should be the integrant and indispensable part of every such school.

"Are the Committee then to understand that you consider the system of education would be incomplete without the establishment of a Scriptural class in each school, but that you consider it would be inexpedient to render the attendance upon such Scriptural class compulsory upon the parties?—I would not have any part of the education given at the parish school made compulsory; they should no more be compelled to attend the Bible class than to attend the reading or arithmetic class, and the Bible would of course fall to be read by the more advanced scholars. I cannot answer for what the Catholics will do, though I have a very strong opinion upon what they ought to do. If they do not attend the Scriptural reading that is going on in a school so constituted, then I think the districts which they occupy should be laid open to the influence of all that general religious activity that is now expatiating freely over the length and the breadth of Ireland. My idea of the perfection of an ecclesiastical system lies in this, that in the first instance there should be an establishment, but that establishment constantly operated upon, stimulated and kept on the alert by the zeal and activity of an energetic, active, and unconstrained dissenterism; and I have a parallel idea to this in reference to a scholastic system, that there should be an apparatus of stationary schools, but if those stationary schools are not working the effect which is desirable, and which effect is, that the whole young population of the country should be leavened with Scriptural knowledge, then I say that with reference to those dis-

tricts of country where this deficiency prevails, there should be free scope and encouragement given to the same sort of active and zealous exertion on the part of religious philanthropists, whether acting individually or in societies, and that in all such places there should be full and free encouragement given to the talents and the energy and the competition of private adventurers.

" By a Scriptural class, do you mean a class meeting on ordinary school-days, and at ordinary school-hours, or would you apply that denomination to a class which met on special days fixed for that purpose?—I would greatly prefer that the Scriptural class should be taught every day of the week; I should consider it very defective to confine the reading of the Scriptures to one or two days of the week.

" But whether upon one or more days of the week, or every day, do you still think that no compulsion ought to be used, and no regulation enforced by authority to render the attendance upon that class a *sine qua non*?—Certainly not.

" Had you at Glasgow any portion of your parishioners in St. John's of a religion differing from the Established Church of Scotland?—A good many; it was one of those parishes in which, from the population having outstripped the established means for their instruction, there were very few indeed who belonged to the Established Church of Scotland.

" Were there any Roman Catholics?—A good many Roman Catholics.

" Were any of those Roman Catholics in the progress of education within your view?—There happened to be one school very numerously attended, to the extent of 300 scholars, within the limits of the parish of St. John's; it was a school which, along with two others, was supported by the Catholic School Association that was formed in Glasgow, and we made what we thought a very good compromise with the Catholic clergyman;

he consented to the use of the Bible, according to the authorized version, as a school-book, we consenting to have Catholic teachers, and upon that footing the education went on, and went on I believe most prosperously, and with very good effect. From the mere delight I had in witnessing the display and the exercise of native talent among the young Irish, I frequently visited that school, and I was uniformly received with the utmost welcome and respect by the schoolmaster. I remember, upon one occasion, when I took some ladies with me, and we were present at the examination of the school for about two hours, he requested, at the end of the examination, that I would address the children. I felt a kind of momentary embarrassment at the proposal; I was resolved, however, to address them as I would any Protestant children, and accordingly did address them, for perhaps a quarter or nearly half an hour, urging upon them that Scripture was the alone rule of faith and manners, and other wholesome Protestant principles. The schoolmaster, so far from taking the slightest offence, turned round and thanked me most cordially for the address I had given.

"That schoolmaster being a Roman Catholic?—That schoolmaster being a Roman Catholic; it really convinced me that a vast deal might be done by kindness, and by discreet and friendly personal intercourse with the Roman Catholics. I may also observe, that whereas it has been alleged that under the superintendence of a Catholic teacher there might be a danger of only certain passages of Scripture being read, to the exclusion of others, as far as my observations extended, he read quite indiscriminately and impartially over Scripture; I recollect that day in particular, I found him engaged with the first chapter of John.

"Did you meet with any contradiction on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy of Glasgow?—Not in the least, for the clergyman was a party in the negotiation; he attended our

meetings, and there was a mutual understanding between the clergyman and the members of the committee: nay, a good many members of the committee were themselves Roman Catholics; and I remember when I was asked to preach for the Roman Catholic School Society, the committee came and thanked me for my exertions, and more particularly the Roman Catholic members of that committee, who were present at the sermon."*

"May I be permitted to say upon this subject, with reference to the difficulties between Catholics and Protestants, I have felt those difficulties so very conquerable by friendship and kindness, that I feel more and more impressed with the importance of a good Protestant clergy in Ireland. I think, that with good sense and correct principle on the part of the Established ministers, a right accommodation on this subject would not be difficult in any parish. I hold the Established Church of Ireland, in spite of all that has been alleged against it, to be our very best machinery for the moral and political regeneration of that country. Were it to be overthrown, I should hold it a death-blow to the best hopes of Ireland. Only it must be well manned; the machine must be rightly wrought,

* I have inserted these extracts in order to shew in what a liberal spirit Dr. Chalmers, and those who thought and acted with him, were at this time willing to deal with their Roman Catholic countrymen. That liberality of conduct was accompanied with the belief, that by mingling on friendly terms with Protestantism, Popery might come at last to lay aside her prejudices against the truth, and be readier to receive and acknowledge it. The whole spirit, policy, and actual procedure of Popery, during the last ten years, painfully prove that this expectation was misplaced. Dr. Chalmers in his later years readily but sadly acknowledged that he had been disappointed. I have been credibly informed, that when spoken to about the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill, not long before his death, he said that it was a historical blunder. I have good reason to believe that he never altered his opinion as to the wisdom and policy of that measure, but he would readily acknowledge (and it was to this I apprehend that the declaration reported to me pointed) that it had been a historical blunder to expect that gentle treatment would either strip Popery of its natural intolerance or deaden its desire to rule.

ere it can answer its purpose: and the more I reflect on the subject, the more I feel that the highest and dearest interests of the land are linked with the support of the Established Church, always provided that Church is well patronized. I know not what the amount of the Government patronage is in the Church of Ireland, but in as far as in the exercise of that patronage, they, instead of consulting for the moral and religious good of the people, do, in the low game of party and commonplace ambition, turn the church livings into the bribes of political subserviency, they, in fact, are the deadliest enemies of the Irish people, and the most deeply responsible for Ireland's miseries and Ireland's crimes."

As Mrs. Chalmers accompanied her husband on this visit, we are deprived of that minute information which his journal-letters would have supplied. His first fortnight in the metropolis was spent among "public and parliamentary men;" and the following short extracts from his journal are inserted to shew how many marked and kind attentions he received.

"11*th May*.—To Richmond with Mr. Noel.

"13*th*.—Breakfasted with Sir James Mackintosh.

"14*th*.—Dined in Mr. Colquhoun's—Mrs. Heber there.

"15*th*.—Breakfasted in Sir George Philip's—Lord King. Dined in Sir Thomas Acland's.

"17*th*.—Dined with the Marquess of Lansdowne.

"19*th*.—Dined with Mr. Buxton.

"21*st*.—Dined in Lord Teignmouth's.

"23*d*.—The Temple Church—Mr. Brougham.

"24*th*.—Dined in Lord Radstock's.

"25*th*.—Dined with Mr. Leonard Horner.

"26*th*.—Dined with the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

"27*th*.—Breakfasted with Sir James Mackintosh.

"29*th*.—To Sir Robert Inglis's, where I dined. Slept in Lord Calthorpe's.

"31*st*.—To Mr. Hoare of Hampstead-Heath—Mr. Coleridge —Mr. J. J. Gurney—Dr. Lushington—Mrs. Fry—Mrs. Joanna Baillie.

"*June* 1*st*.—To Mr. Wilberforce's at Highwood Hill.

"*June* 2*d*.—To London with Mr. Wilberforce. Interview with Sir Robert Peel. Dinner with the Marquess of Lansdowne.

"*June* 3*d*.—Dined in the Archbishop of York's."

Through Mrs. Rich, the daughter of Sir James Mackintosh, the writing of Mary Campbell was submitted to the inspection of Sir George Staunton, whose answer was much to the same effect as that given by Dr. Lee of Cambridge.*

On the morning of the day on which he was to visit the Temple Church, Dr. Chalmers breakfasted with Mr. Murray of Henderland. He was introduced here to an old military officer, but in so inaudible a voice, that as they sat down to breakfast neither knew who the other was. "Well," said the old General, quite ignorant who was by his side—"what a fuss Brougham and Scarlett have been making to get the organ arranged for Lutheran tunes for Chalmers." The half-hour

* "*Claremont Row, Pentonville, London, May* 19*th*, 1830.—DEAR SIR,—I was not aware that the document sent to me by the Rev. Mr. W. of G. some time ago, was of so much importance as your letter intimates, otherwise I should have answered him much earlier, which, perhaps, you will be so good as to let him know. I can now only say, that whatever it contains, if indeed it contains anything, must for ever remain a mystery to me, as I am quite unable to attach any meaning, sound, &c., to the characters in which it is written. This is the fact of the case. My opinion is, that it contains neither character nor language known in any region under the sun: and this, without laying claim to any miraculous powers, I will venture to predict will turn out to be the fact. A similar paper was sent to me by Sir A. J. about a month or six weeks ago, which he told me came from Scotland, and which I returned with an answer somewhat like the present. If the authoress of these papers has indeed the miraculous gift of tongues, why does she not at once make out the proof, by giving out a composition in some tongue confessedly known to a few at least? This would put an end to all possible doubt; and this too, was the sort of proof given in the apostolic times: 'We do all hear them,' &c. But I am now diverging from my purpose.—I am, reverend and dear Sir, yours very faithfully, SAMUEL LEE."

with Coleridge was filled up without intermission by one continuous flow of eloquent discourse from that prince of talkers. He began—in answer to the common inquiries as to his health—by telling of a fit of insensibility in which, three weeks before, he had lain for thirty-five minutes. As sensibility returned, and before he had opened his eyes, he uttered a sentence about the fugacious nature of consciousness, from which he passed to a discussion of the singular relations between the soul and the body. Asking for Mr. Irving, but waiting for no reply, he poured out an eloquent tribute of his regard—mourning pathetically that such a man should be so throwing himself away. Mr. Irving's book on the "Human Nature of Christ" in its analysis was minute to absurdity; one would imagine that the pickling and preserving were to follow, it was so like a cookery book. Unfolding then his own scheme of the Apocalypse—talking of the mighty contrast between its Christ and the Christ of the Gospel narrative, Mr. Coleridge said that Jesus did not come now as before—meek and gentle, healing the sick and feeding the hungry, and dispensing blessings all around, but he came on a white horse; and who were his attendants?—famine, and war, and pestilence.

From listening to the mingled poetry and metaphysics of this wonderful man, Dr. Chalmers and his party returned to dine at Mr. Hoare's. "At dinner," says Mr. J. J. Gurney,* "we had an interesting party,—Dr. Bird Sumner, Bishop of Chester; Dr. Lushington, the Civilian; Buxton, and a family party including our sister E. Fry. The conversation during dinner turned to the subject of capital punishments. Lushington, in the warmest terms, expressed his abhorrence of the system, and declared his opinion, that the poor criminal was thus hurried out of life and into eternity, by means of the perpetration of another crime, far greater, for the most part, than any which the

* *Reminiscences of Dr. Chalmers*, by Joseph John Gurney, Esq.—(Not published.)

sufferer himself had committed. He even indicated a *feeling*, that the worse the criminal the more improper such a punishment. Buxton rallied him, and restated his argument with great pleasantry: 'The Dr. assures us, that if your Lordship was condemned to the gallows, or you, Dr. Chalmers, were about to suffer the *ultimum supplicium*, he would be the last man to prevent the execution of the law, or prevent the translation of the virtuous to a happier state; but to terminate the probationary existence of the most degraded of our race—the worst of robbers, or the most outrageous of murderers—was opposed at once to all the feelings of humanity, and to all the principles of religion.' After all, however, there is a great deal of truth in Dr. Lushington's statement, and substantially we were all agreed.

"After dinner a brisk discussion arose respecting the comparative *religious* condition of the Long Parliament, and of our representatives in the present day of latitudinarianism and laxity. Lushington contended that the advantage lay on the side of our modern senate, and that the looseness of the *present* was a less crying evil than the hypocrisy of *past* times. The Bishop and Chalmers took the other side, and not only demonstrated the religious superiority of the Puritans, but strongly insisted on the great principle, that it is godliness which exalteth a nation, and which can alone impart true strength and stability to human governments. Chalmers stated the points of the argument with great strength and clearness, and the Bishop confirmed what he said. In the evening Joanna Baillie joined our party; and after the Bishop and others were gone, we formed a sociable circle, of which Chalmers was the centre. The evidences of Christianity became again the topic of conversation. I rather think the harmony of Scripture, and the accordance and correspondence of one part with another were adverted to. This *evidence of accordance* is one to which

Dr. C.'s mind is obviously much alive. He knows how to trace in the adaptation between one branch of truth and another, and especially between *God's religion* and man's EXPERIENCE, the *master-hand* of perfect wisdom and goodness.

"CHAL. 'The historical evidences of Christianity are abundantly sufficient to satisfy the scrutinizing researches of the learned, and are within the reach of all well-educated persons. But the internal evidence of the Truth lies within the grasp of every sincere inquirer. Every man who reads his Bible, and compares what it says of mankind with the records of his own experience,—every man who marks the adaptation of its mighty system of doctrine to his own spiritual need as a sinner in the sight of God, is furnished with practical proof of the divine origin of our religion. I love this evidence. It is what I call the *portable evidence of Christianity.*'

"On the following morning he read the Scriptures to the family circle, and selected the latter half of John xiv. The verse which peculiarly attracted his attention was verse 21, 'He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him.'

"When our conversation was concluded, my brother, Samuel Hoare, took me with him on the box of his chariot, and drove Dr. Chalmers and his highly pleasing wife to Wilberforce's, at Highwood Hall, beyond Hendon. Dr. C. and his lady were engaged to stay some days there, and we were glad of the opportunity of enjoying the company of the *senator emeritus*, together with that of Dr. C. for a few hours. Our morning passed delightfully; Chalmers was indeed comparatively silent, as he often is when many persons are collected, and the stream of conversation flowed between ourselves and the ever lively Wilberforce. I have seldom observed a more amusing and pleasing contrast between two great men than between Wilber-

force and Chalmers. Chalmers is stout and erect, with a broad countenance—Wilberforce minute, and singularly twisted: Chalmers, both in body and mind, moves with a deliberate step—Wilberforce, infirm as he is in his advanced years, flies about with astonishing activity, and while, with nimble finger, he seizes on every thing that adorns or diversifies his path, his mind flits from object to object with unceasing versatility. I often think that particular men bear about with them an analogy to particular animals: Chalmers is like a good-tempered lion—Wilberforce is like a bee: Chalmers can say a pleasant thing now and then, and laugh when he has said it, and he has a strong touch of humour in his countenance, but in general he is *grave*, his thoughts grow to a great size before they are uttered—Wilberforce sparkles with life and wit, and the characteristic of his mind is 'rapid productiveness.' A man might be in Chalmers's company for an hour, especially in a party, without knowing who or what he was,—though in the end he would be sure to be detected by some unexpected display of powerful originality. Wilberforce, except when fairly asleep, is never latent. Chalmers knows how to veil himself in a decent cloud—Wilberforce is always in sunshine. Seldom, I believe, has any mind been more strung to a perpetual tune of love and praise. Yet these persons, distinguished as they are from the world at large, and from each other, present some admirable points of resemblance. Both of them are broad thinkers, and liberal feelers: both of them are arrayed in humility, meekness, and charity: both appear to hold self in little reputation: above all, both love the Lord Jesus Christ, and reverently acknowledge him to be their *only Saviour*."

In his interview with Sir Robert Peel, that distinguished statesman took occasion in a way most gratifying to Dr. Chalmers's feelings, to inform him that he had had the pleasure of recommending to the King that he should be nominated as one

of His Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland. This private announcement was confirmed by the following letter:—

"*Whitehall, June 2d*, 1830.—DEAR SIR, I beg leave to repeat to you the communication which I had the honour of making to you personally this morning: His Majesty has been pleased to signify his intention of nominating you one of His Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary in Scotland.

"I trust that it will be gratifying to your feelings to receive this appointment, unsolicited as it has been on your part, and conferred exclusively in consideration of your high character and eminent acquirements and services. I have great personal satisfaction in being the channel of this communication.—I am, my dear Sir, with sincere esteem, your faithful servant, ROBERT PEEL."

Attracted by a noble instance of individual liberality, and by the prospect of a few days' intercourse with Mr. Foster and Mr. Hall, Dr. Chalmers had consented to open for public worship an independent chapel, built by Mr. Hare in the neighbourhood of Bristol. On his arrival at Mr. Hare's, he found that a strong current of opinion hostile to the Established Church of England prevailed in that society into which he was thrown; and as his opening of the chapel might possibly lay his own sentiments upon this subject open to misinterpretation, he thought it right, as it certainly was both candid and manly, to close the sermon which he delivered upon this occasion with the following declaration:—

"I hold the Establishment to be not only a great Christian good, but one indispensable to the upholding of a diffused Christianity throughout the land. In spite of all the imputations and errors which its greatest enemies have laid to its door, we hold, that on the alternative of its existence or non-existence, there would hang a most fearful odds to the Christianity of

England. We are ready to admit that the working of the apparatus might be made greatly more efficient; but we at the same time contend, that were it taken down, the result would be tantamount to a moral blight on the length and breadth of our land. We think it might be demonstrated, that were the ministrations of your Established Church to be done away, they would never be replaced by all the zeal, energy, and talent of private adventurers. Instead of the frequent parish church, that most beauteous spectacle to a truly Christian heart, because to him the richest in moral associations, with its tower peeping forth from amidst the verdure of the trees in which it is embosomed, there would be presented to the eye of the traveller only rare and thinly scattered meeting-houses. The cities might indeed continue to be supplied with regular preaching, but innumerable villages and hamlets, left dependent on a precarious itinerancy, would be speedily reduced to the condition of a moral waste. Our peasants would again become Pagans, or under the name and naked form of Christianity, would sink into the blindness and brutishness and sad alienation of Paganism. But we are far from regarding with a jealous eye the zeal and exertions of other orthodox religious bodies. In connexion with an Establishment we wish ever to see an able, vigorous, and flourishing dissenterism. The services of dissenters are needed to supplement the deficiencies, and to correct and to compensate for the vices of an Establishment, as far as that Establishment has the misfortune to labour under the evil of a lax and negligent ministration, a corrupt and impure patronage. Such wholesome dissent is a purifier, and because a purifier a strengthener of the Church. I am willing to profess anywhere, and upon all occasions, my sense of the usefulness of such dissenters, and of the worth of their services; but there is no place where a homage for that order of society should be more profoundly felt and more willingly proclaimed

than in a city which is honoured by the residence or the immediate vicinity of distinguished men belonging to that Communion whose admirable writings have shed a lustre over our common Christianity, and who are themselves equally eminent for the mildness of their private worth and the majesty of their genius. Let churchmen be assured that their most dignified attitude, in reference to dissenters, is the attitude of fearlessness; and their most becoming part is that of a kind and friendly co-operation with them in all that relates to the moral and spiritual good of the population."

Dr. Chalmers did not reach Edinburgh till the 10th July. Of the two great public events by which this summer of 1830 was signalized, one had then already happened, and the other was impending. The death of King George IV., which took place on the 26th June, opened up the way in England to the greatest political change which ever happened without a revolution; and "the three days" at Paris drove Charles X. from the throne of France, and sent him an exile to our shores. About a month after the French Revolution, Mr. Gurney was in Edinburgh, where, during a period of confinement, he had almost daily intercourse with Dr. Chalmers. "I have found his visits," he writes, "like two things of which I have lately experienced the vast importance—a tonic for the faint, and a crutch for the lame. The new Revolution in France, and the commotions which have since taken place in other parts of Europe, have of course been the subject of daily thought, meditation, and converse. 'I think,' said Dr. Chalmers, 'the Scriptures afford us good reason to believe that the ultimate diffusion of pure Christianity in the world must be preceded by commotion and confusion and distress of nations. Look at the new French Revolution—there is much that one approves at *present* both in its tendency and its results. But you see it has been effected by the growth of merely human intelligence—by the working of

the unregenerate mind without a particle of Christian principle. It is just the striving of the natural wisdom and pride of man after that which we are apt to conceive to be the consummation of our happiness—*a condition of independence.* I am not one of those who underrate the value of civil and political liberty; but I am well assured that it is only the principles of Christianity which can impart true security, prosperity, and happiness, either to individuals or to nations. I am prepared to expect, that on the efforts which are now making in the world to regenerate our species, without religion, *God will impress the stamp of a solemn and expressive mockery.*'

"It is evident that Dr. Chalmers is deeply impressed with the opinion that an overwhelming tide is but too likely, ere long, to sweep down many of our civil, literary, and religious institutions. The spirit which prevails abroad he apprehends to be in somewhat active operation at home, and he ascribes its existence and increase to the wide dissemination of *superficial* knowledge. Chalmers is a great advocate for religious establishments.

"CHAL. 'I like to see the *earth* helping the *woman.* I do not plead very earnestly for any particular church, but I would have a well formed machinery fixed in every country—ducts of irrigation—through which the predominant religion, whatever it is, may diffuse its streams of Christian instruction. I do not perceive that when such a provision is absent, men are prone to supply the deficiency for themselves; and the practical effect appears to be that a large proportion of the population is left without any religious instruction at all.

"'The population in England and Scotland has immensely outgrown the provisions of the two Establishments—and what becomes of the surplus? They do not provide *themselves* with religious privileges, but are more than content to continue without them. I was furnished with a *picturesque argument*

for Establishments, on the top of St. Paul's. When I looked eastward over the city of London, I beheld it *dotted* with spires—for the city was built at a time when the Church was able to meet the demands of the inhabitants. But westward the eye roams over a comparatively new town and new population, and a *spire* is hardly to be seen. On the whole, I conclude, that unless the law of the land provides churches, and a corresponding administration of the gospel, it is in vain to expect that the people will provide them for themselves.'

"I told Dr. Chalmers that this was almost the only subject, that I knew of, on which I did not *sympathize* with him. Nevertheless, I fully unite in sincerely deprecating the fall of any of our religious institutions by the rude hand of anarchy and infidelity. It ought to be remarked, that Dr. Chalmers's views on this subject are connected in his mind, not with a bigoted attachment to any particular form of religion, but only with an earnest desire for the *maintenance of Christianity itself.*

"CHAL. 'The Scotch Establishment has one great advantage over that of England. It acknowledges no temporal head, and admits of no civil or Parliamentary interference with its doctrine and discipline. The State helps to support it, but has nothing to do with the conduct of its ministrations. This devolves solely on its Synod. It is not so with the Church of England; but I would not demolish the Church of England on that account—I would only restore to her her own Convocation. Were some little poisonous stream to find its way into the sources of the Nile, by which all the waters of the river were rendered insalubrious, it would be a foolish remedy to cut up and destroy the dykes by which those waters are conveyed through all the plains of Egypt. Good sense would dictate—*only*, the *stopping up of the small polluting fountain.*'

"Dr. Chalmers's conversations with us have been much more frequently about *things* than *persons;* and indeed he has too much intelligence and power of mind to descend to a species of conversation commonly called gossip—which is the frequent refuge of many whose understandings are meagrely stored with information. Persons, however, who, from the combination of talent and oddity, have made a noise in the world, must lay their account for being the subject of conversation in all sorts of companies. Such a man is Edward Irving, who once acted as an assistant preacher to Dr. Chalmers, in the Tron Church at Glasgow.

"CHAL. 'When Irving was associated with me at Glasgow he did not attract a large congregation, but he completely attached to himself, and to his ministry, a limited number of persons, with whose minds his own was in affinity. I have often observed this effect produced by men whose habits of thinking and feeling are peculiar or eccentric. They possess a *magnetic* attraction for minds assimilated to their own.'

"Nevertheless, I observed, eccentricity, especially in people of serious religion, is extremely undesirable. I much prefer those broad intelligible qualities which attract the mass of mankind.

"CHAL. 'Yes, truly—after all, *gravitation* is much better than *magnetism.*

"'I undertook to open Irving's new chapel in London. The congregation, in their eagerness to obtain seats, had already been assembled about three hours. Irving said, he would assist me by reading a chapter for me in the first instance. He chose the very longest chapter in the Bible, and went on with his exposition for an hour and a half. When my turn came, of what use could I be in an exhausted receiver? On another similar occasion he kindly proffered me the same aid, adding, "I can be short." I said, How long will it take you? He

answered, "ONLY ONE HOUR AND FORTY MINUTES." Then, replied I, I must decline the favour.'

"CRAIG.* 'My friend, Mr. P., invited a party to supper. Some of his guests had three miles to walk home after the meal. But *before* its commencement, Mr. P. requested Irving, who was one of the party, to read the Bible and expound. He began and continued a discourse, which manifested not even a tendency towards termination until midnight. The supper was of course either burnt up or grown cold. When the clock struck twelve, Mr. P. tremblingly and gently suggested to him that it might be desirable to draw to a close. "Who art *thou*," he replied, with prophetic energy, "who darest to interrupt the man of God in the midst of his administrations?" He pursued his commentary for some time longer, then closed the book, and waving his long arm over the head of his host, uttered an audible and deliberate prayer that his offence might be forgiven.'

"The last accounts which I have heard from the 'West Country' indicate a *progressive descent* into the absurd and preposterous. I was struck with the simplicity of mind and genuine charitableness which Dr. Chalmers displayed in conversing on this subject, before its issue was quite so apparent as it is at present.

"CHAL. 'Were Erskine at home, I should be very happy to bring you together. He is a most amiable and pleasing person, and one whose consistency of conduct proves the genuineness of his piety. It is true, however, that his imagination overpowers his other faculties. He assures me, that a quarter of an hour's personal examination on the spot would convince me of the truth of the West Country miracles. Incredulous as I am respecting it, I do not presume to determine what may or may not be included within the infinite variety of Divine dispensation. I just hold myself open to evidence.'

* The Rev. Mr. Craig of Edinburgh.

"One morning, while Dr. Chalmers was with us, and was speaking with great liberality of certain Christians who differ from him in sentiment, Dr. —— joined our party; an amiable and pious man, about my own age, once well known and loved by some members of our family. Unhappily he has now fallen into a religious system the very opposite to Chalmers's—a system of the most rigid exclusiveness. So strangely is his spiritual vision perverted, that while he condemns all denominations of Christians as fatally erring, he appears to presume that the true *universal* church of Christ consists of himself and a few other individuals, who, while they reject the Sabbath, occasionally meet together in this place for devotional purposes. After Chalmers was gone, he began to unfold his views to me, which appear to be simply these:—that the Church of Christ is ONE; and that since he and his friends were the only persons who exactly conformed themselves to the model of the New Testament, they, and they only, were that ONE Church. I can hardly describe the odd feeling it gave me, just after I had been expatiating in the broad fields of Dr. Chalmers's heart and intellect, to be thus suddenly thrust into the narrowest of imaginable corners. The contrast was instructive, and enhanced my value for that mighty stream of Divine love and charity which overleaps all the barriers of pride and prejudice. May I ever be preserved from becoming a latitudinarian in religion! but while I am deeply convinced that on no other foundation can any man stand with safety, but *Jesus Christ*, I never more clearly saw than I do at present, that this foundation has a *breadth* proportioned to its stability. Christianity is a law of liberty. It may be said to teem with the riches of a divine *liberality*. God 'giveth to all men LIBERALLY, and upbraideth not.' I am disposed to think that the *breadth* of every system of religion, which has Christ for its basis, is one of the best tests by which we may try its genuineness and its truth. I

afterwards told Chalmers what had passed between Dr. —— and myself. He put on a countenance of great good humour. 'It reminds me,' said he, 'of an elderly gentleman, of whom I once knew something, who was fully persuaded that true Christianity was exclusively to be found in himself and an *old wife*. When the old lady died the universal church was restricted to his single person.'

"I mentioned a work, popular among the Unitarians, which solves all the attributes of God into pure *benevolence*—denominates sin 'moral evil'—ascribes it to the direct appointment of God, and presumes to infer, that it not only promotes the general good, but, taken in connexion with its corrective consequences, in the end enhances the happiness of the sinner. Hence it follows, that if a man murders his parents, or flays his children alive, he will be the better for it in *the long run*.

"CHAL. 'It is a dangerous error to reduce the Divine attributes to the single quality of goodness. Our best metaphysicians (especially Brown) teach us, that the *ethical virtues* are in their nature unalterably independent. Justice is an ethical virtue, distinct in its origin, character, and end, and must not be confounded with any other. These principles apply to the moral attributes of God.' Yes, I said, they are blended, but not confused.

"CHAL. 'There is union in them, but not unity.—The harmony, yet distinctness, of the Divine moral attributes, is most instructively *inscribed* on the atonement of Christ.' Truly, I replied, that is a point where justice and benevolence meet —where God has displayed at once His abhorrence of sin, and His mercy to the sinner.

"CHAL. 'Brown had very low and inadequate views of the character of God. The same may be said of Paley—witness his founding his system of morals on expediency. This was indeed a degradation in a Christian and moral philosopher, and

the more so, as even a Cicero could declaim against "utilitas" as the basis of morals.' I mentioned an anecdote which I have heard of Paley in his last illness, which is said to have had the authority of William Hey, the late noted surgeon at Leeds, and which, if true, is remarkably consoling. When not far from his end, Paley, in conversing with some of his family or friends, took a calm review of his several works. He expressed the deep regret and dissatisfaction which at that awful time he felt in the recollection of his 'Moral Philosophy.' He was happy to believe that his 'Natural Theology' and 'Evidences of Christianity' were sound and useful works; but the book on which his mind then dwelt with the greatest pleasure was his 'Horæ Paulinæ.'

"CHAL. 'I am not surprised at this. It is an admirable statement of evidence, and displays a more masterly hand than any of his other works.' Our Lord has declared, that except we are 'converted, and become as little children,' we shall 'in no wise enter the kingdom of heaven.' I have heard that this lucid and powerful writer became a little child, in the best sense of the terms, before he died. I have also heard it stated, on what appeared to be good authority, that had his posthumous sermons been chronologically arranged, they would have displayed a gradually progressive change from a sort of semi-pelagianism, to a sound and evangelical view of Christianity.* It is delightful to be able to *ascribe* such a man as Paley to the company of true believers in a crucified Redeemer."

Upon the accession of William IV. to the throne, a deputation from the Church of Scotland was appointed to wait upon his Majesty, and to present a congratulatory address. Having been nominated as one of the deputation, Dr. Chalmers left

* The sermons of Dr. Chalmers, subjected to the same method of arrangement as that above suggested in regard to those of Paley, exhibit a still more striking alteration and progress of religious belief.—See *Posthumous Works*, vol. vi.

Edinburgh early in October, making a considerable circuit on his way to London. From Shrewsbury, where he enjoyed for a day or two the hospitalities of Sir John B. Williams, the biographer of the Henrys, he wrote to Mrs. Chalmers that upon this occasion he would address his journal-letters to each of his daughters in rotation,—"The lucky one," he adds, "will be she who gets the account of my presentation to the King and Queen." At Hereford he received a kindly welcome from the Rev. Mr. Gipps. "Breakfasted with him, and afterwards visited the cathedral—not so inferior a structure as I had been led to believe. Then ran up to the top of the cathedral tower, where I enjoyed a most glorious English prospect—a fine undulating country, all in a glow with the autumnal foliage of its woods, and entwined by the river Wye, on which Hereford is situated. Then dined with Mr. Gipps, and afterwards addressed his Sabbath-scholars, who were assembled in the chancel of the church, which was quite filled with genteel grown-up people, who overflowed into the church itself; and addressing, as I did, from a pulpit, it was tantamount to a sermon. I was afterwards told that Gipps would be taken to account for it by the dignitaries of the place. Walked in the Castle green, which is quite beautiful.

"*October* 18*th*.—Started at six. Got upon the top of the coach to Monmouth at seven. This not the direct road to Gloucester, but I was in quest of scenery. Monmouth is twenty miles from Hereford, and the approach to it for four miles is one of the most superb landscapes I ever enjoyed. Then to the top of the steeple, and took delighted cognizance of the whole panorama. I pronounce Monmouth to be the most central and commanding place for scenery in England. I hope at some future period to live a week there, with so many of my own and so many of the Morton family, and to have a distinct pleasurable excursion each day. Breakfasted half way from

Hereford to Monmouth. Wrote the first page of this letter in a coffee-house there. Got into the mail for Gloucester at twelve. Was obliged to take an inside, and had great difficulty in exchanging it with an outside, which I succeeded, however, in doing, and was borne along through such scenes of enchantment and loveliness as are surpassed nowhere. Ross is pre-eminent in this way; but the coachman would not allow me time to run up to its churchyard, and take a passing look of the finest prospect in England." After visiting his sister's family in Gloucestershire, Dr. Chalmers proceeded to Oxford.

"*Saturday, October* 23*d*, 1830.—MY DEAR GRACE,—One of the young Menteiths soon came to me, and conducted me to Dr. M'Bride, Principal of Magdalene Hall, who took me along with the two Menteiths through the magnificent assemblage of colleges and libraries, among which gardens and academic groves were intermingled with the most venerable architecture, whose minarets, intermingled with the autumnal foliage of the wood, composed one of the finest spectacles I ever beheld—a spectacle greatly enhanced by the proudest literary associations, and the appearance of students gliding along the walks and amongst the arcades, in the monastic establishments of their order. The most striking object is the Bodleian Library, the second, it is said, in the world. They have begun to place books on separate subjects in separate apartments; and it will give you some idea both of their wealth, and also what an extensive thing literature is, that they the other day gave £2080 for a collection of books on *Hebrew learning* alone, and which fills a very large room. I think I have heard you profess a great desire to learn Hebrew, and therefore this room will be very much in your taste. From the top of the Radcliff Library we had a noble prospect of Oxford in all its glory of spires and towers and colleges. There are twenty-four different colleges: All Souls is perhaps the richest

of the structures—the most beauteous pinnacles being arranged along its quadrangle. Altogether the view presents us with the very finest composition of noble buildings I ever looked upon. Another very striking object was the Chapel of Christ Church, which is also the Cathedral of the diocese. There was service performing in it; and it being now so dark as to require the light of wax-candles, this, accompanied with the music of the choristers, the various dresses in white and scarlet of the ecclesiastics, the richness of the monuments, and the general style of the architecture, produced a very striking effect. We looked in at the dining-hall of the College, where there were distinct tables spread for the fellows, and noblemen, and gentlemen commoners, and commoners. They had not yet sat down to dinner, but I felt interested in seeing how the students, who all dine in public, were grouped. In retiring, met with Mr. Bruce, son to Lord Elgin, who is at this College. Dined with Dr. M'Bride, where there was a select party of lofty talent and learning assembled to meet me. First, Dr. Whately, author of a book on Logic, to whom I delivered a note of introduction; secondly, Dr. Burton, Professor of Theology, another very distinguished writer; thirdly, their wives, very accomplished and able women; fourthly, other heads and fellows of Universities; and in the forenoon I was introduced to Dr. Shuttleworth, an eminent preacher and publisher of sermons. I was greatly interested though much tired and fatigued. Dr. M'Bride insisted on my going with him, so that, though I had fixed my quarters in the Angel Inn, I was obliged to send for all my luggage, and reposed for the night in a delicious academic retreat. Went to bed about eleven.

"*Sunday.*—Delighted in the morning with the ring of Oxford bells. The look out from my window, too, was most interesting. Attended the chapel services of Magdalene Hall at half-past eight in the morning. Each hall and college has a

separate chapel of its own. There were about forty young men in attendance. I must confess myself tired with the length and repetition of the English service. After breakfast Dr. M'Bride took me to the University Church, where the music, the splendid procession of the masters, the richness of their dresses, and the crowded attendance of the students, were all most interesting. The sermon was one of lofty talent by Dr. Shuttleworth. A number of Scotch students and others crowded round me after the sermon—a son of Lord Moncreiff, the two Menteiths, Mr. Bruce, Sir William Dunbar, Mr. Pusey, his brother, Professor of Hebrew, &c. Walked over the beautiful grounds of several colleges, made calls, amongst the rest Dr. Simmonds, whom Mrs. Chalmers knows. I have been persuaded by the urgency of the people here to preach in the evening. Called on Dr. W., a very powerful and original man; but I find the people here all love better to speak than to hear, so that I who give way on these occasions had less to do in that way. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*London, October 28th*, 1830.—MY DEAR MARGARET,—This is the big and busy day. Got up at seven. Went out to order the loan of a Court hat, which is promised me by twelve. A general dressing, and anxiety on all hands to be as snod * as possible. A breakfast at which all the members of the deputation were present; Dr. Singer, Dr. Cook, Dr. M'Knight, Dr. Lee, myself, Mr. Paul, Mr. Sinclair, Sir John Connel. We are, besides, to have Sir Henry Jardine, Mr. Pringle of Yair, and Dr. Stewart of Erskine, as attendants. A vast deal of consultation anent our movements to and from. We are all on edge. We have to make three bows; and the question is, whether we shall all make them on moving towards the throne, or after we have spread ourselves before it, and there is such a want of

* *Anglice*, neat.

unanimity and distinct understanding about it, that I fear we shall misbehave. However time will shew, and I now lay down my pen till it is over.

"We assembled in our hotel at one. The greatest consternation amongst us about hats, which had been promised at twelve, but had not yet arrived. There were four wanting; and at length only three came, with the promise that we should get the other when we passed the shop. We went in three coaches and landed at the palace entry about half-past one. Ascended the stair; passed through a magnificent lobby, between rows of glittering attendants all dressed in gold and scarlet. Ushered into a large anteroom, full of all sorts of company walking about and collecting there for attendance on the levee: military and naval officers in splendid uniforms—high legal gentlemen with enormous wigs—ecclesiastics from archbishops to curates and inferior clergy. Our deputation made a most respectable appearance among them, with our cocked three-cornered hats under our arms, our bands upon our breasts, and our gowns of Geneva upon our backs. Mine did not lap so close as I would have liked, so that I was twice as thick as I should be, and it must have been palpable to every eye at the first glance, that I was the greatest man there,—and that, though I took all care to keep my coat unbuttoned, and my gown quite open: however, let not mamma be alarmed, for I made a most respectable appearance, and was treated with the utmost attention. I saw the Archbishop of York in the room, but did not get within speech of him. To make up for this, however, I was introduced to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was very civil; saw the Bishop of London, with whom I had a good deal of talk, and am to dine on Friday; was made up to by Admiral Sir Philip Durham; and was further introduced, at their request, to Sir John Leach, Master of the Rolls, to Lord Chief-Justice Tindall, to the Marquis of Bute, &c.

But far the most interesting object there was Talleyrand—whom I could get nobody to introduce me to—splendidly attired as the French Ambassador, attended by some French military officers. I gazed with interest on the old shrivelled face of him, and thought I could see there the lines of deep reflection and lofty talent. His moral physiognomy, however, is a downright blank. He was by far the most important continental personage in the room, and drew all eyes. I was further in conversation with Lord Melville, Mr. Spencer Percival, and Mr. Henry Drummond. The door to the middle apartment was at length opened for us, when we entered in processional order. The Moderator first, with Drs. Macknight and Cook on each side of him; I and Dr. Lee side by side followed; Mr. Paul and Mr. George Sinclair, with their swords and bags, formed the next row; then Sir John Connel and Sir Henry Jardine; and last of all, Mr. Pringle, M.P., and Dr. Stewart. We stopped in the middle room—equally crowded with the former, and alike splendid with mirrors, chandeliers, pictures, and gildings of all sorts on the roof and walls—for about ten minutes, when at length the folding-doors to the grand state-room were thrown open. We all made a low bow on our first entry, and the King, seated on the throne at the opposite end, took off his hat, putting it on again. We marched up to the middle of the room, and made another low bow, when the King again took off his hat; we then proceeded to the foot of the throne, and all made a third low bow, on which the King again took off his hat. After this the Moderator read his address, which was a little long, and the King bowed repeatedly while it was reading. The Moderator then reached the address to the King upon the throne, who took it from him and gave it to Sir Robert Peel on his left hand, who in his turn gave the King his written reply, which he read very well. After this, the Moderator went up to the stool

before the throne, leaned his left knee upon it, and kissed the King's hand. We each in our turn did the same thing; the Moderator naming every one of us as we advanced. I went through my kneel and my kiss very comfortably. The King said something to each of us. His first question to me was, 'Do you reside constantly in Edinburgh?' I said, 'Yes, an't please your Majesty.' His next question was, 'How long do you remain in town?' I said, 'Till Monday, an't please your Majesty.' I then descended the steps leading from the foot of the throne to the floor, and fell into my place in the deputation. After we had all been thus introduced, we began to retire in a body just as we had come, bowing all the way with our faces to the King, and so moving backwards, when the King called out, 'Don't go away, gentlemen, I shall leave the throne and the Queen will succeed me.' We stopped in the middle of the floor, when the most beautiful living sight I ever beheld burst upon our delighted gaze,—the Queen with twelve maids of honour, in a perfect spangle of gold and diamonds, entered the room. I am sorry I cannot go over in detail the particulars of their dresses; only that their lofty plumes upon their heads, and their long sweeping trains upon the floor, had a very magnificent effect. She took her seat on the throne, and we made the same profound obeisances as before, advancing to the foot of the steps that lead to the footstool of the throne. A short address was read to her as before; and her reply was most beautifully given, in rather a tremulous voice, and just as low as that I could only hear and no more. We went through the same ceremonial of advancing successively and kissing hands, and then retired with three bows which the Queen returned most gracefully, but with all the simplicity, I had almost said bashfulness, of a timid country girl. She is really a very natural and amiable looking person. The whole was magnificent. On each side of the throne were maids of

honour, officers of state, the Lord Chancellor, a vast number of military gentlemen, and among the rest the Duke of Wellington. My next will be to Helen. God bless you, my dear Margaret. —I am, your affectionate father, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*London, October 29th*, 1830.—MY DEAR HELEN,—I did not finish my description of our interview with the Queen in my letter to Margaret, for after we left the grand state-room, we remained in the middle room; and after us the Corporation of Dublin, a very large body, went with addresses to the King and Queen. There were some very magnificent people among them; and as a great number had to be introduced, it took up a long time, so we had to wait half an hour at least in the middle room till the Levee began, when the two inner doors between the middle and great state-rooms were thrown open. The King, instead of being upon the throne, now stood on the floor. There was an immense number of people introduced to him, going in a very close and lengthened column from the outer room by one corner door of the great state-room, passing the King, and retiring through an avenue of state attendants by the other corner door. I kissed his hand the second time, and was named both by him and Sir Robert Peel. After this we remained in the middle room a considerable time, and at length left the Palace. We had to wait a long time in the door lobby till our coaches drew up for us. The crowding and calling of coaches had a very animating effect. We got to our hotel at four—waited there half an hour. Our coaches came for us again to take us to the Mansion-House where we were to dine with the Lord Mayor. This is a magnificent house, and has a very noble dining-room. The Lord Mayor himself was unwell, and could not be with us. His chaplain did the honours for him. There were about fifty. We assembled in the drawing-room. There were about six ladies; and I was very

graciously received by the Lady Mayoress and the Lady Mayoress Elect, the latter of whom I had the honour of leading to the great dining-hall. The Lady Mayoress Elect will be Lady Mayoress at the great civic feast to their Majesties, so that I had the honour of leading the very lady to dinner whom the King will lead to the great Guildhall dinner in about a fortnight. It was truly a civic feast. I had the honour of sitting second on the right hand from the Lady Mayoress, there being the Lord Mayor Elect between me and her, so that I sat between the Lord and Lady Mayor Elect, to be Lord and Lady Mayor in a few days. They were both as kind and cordial to me as possible, as was also the Lady Mayoress. There are some venerable customs handed down from very remote antiquity, which I took great delight in witnessing and sharing in. After dinner one of the portly and magnificent waiters stood behind the Lady Mayoress with a large flagon having a lid that lifted, and filled with the best spiced wine. He then called out 'silence,' and delivered the following speech from behind the Lady Mayoress, with the great flagon in his hand:— 'Commissioners of the Church of Scotland, the Lord Mayor, the Lady Mayoress, the Lord Mayor Elect, the Lady Mayoress Elect, my masters the Sheriff and Aldermen of the good city of London, bid you hearty welcome to this our ancient town, and offer you a cup of love-and-kindness in token of good feeling and good fellowship.' I have not done justice to the speech, for those Aldermen present were named in it, among the rest the famous Alderman Waithman and Sir Claudius Hunter. After this speech by the crier, the cup was given to the Lady Mayoress, who turned round with it to her neighbour the Lord Mayor Elect; he lifted the lid and kept it in his hand till she drank, both standing; she then gave it to him, but not till she wiped with a towel the place she had drunk at; he put on the lid, and turned round to me who rose; I took off the lid, he

drank, wiped, gave the cup to me; I turned round to my next neighbour, the Lady Mayoress Elect, she rose and took off the lid, I drank, wiped, and gave the cup to her, who put on the lid, turned to her next neighbour, &c., &c., and so the cup, or great flagon rather, went round the whole company. Another peculiar observance was, that instead of hand-glasses for washing, there was put down an immense massive plate of gilt silver, with a little rose water poured into it, and placed before the Lady Mayoress; she dipped the corner of her towel into it, and therewith spunged her face and hands, and said plate went round the table, and each of us did the same. It was most refreshing. Then came toasts and speeches. The Moderator gave one in reply to the Church of Scotland; and the Lady Mayoress declared she would not leave the room till I spoke, so there was a particular toast for me, and I had to make a speech, which I concluded with a toast to the Lady Mayoress. Mr. George Sinclair was asked by her Ladyship to return thanks in her name, which he did with a speech, &c. After the ladies retired I sat between the Lord Mayor, who took the chair, and Alderman Sir Claudius Hunter, who was particularly kind to me. We drank tea with the ladies; and I had much cordial conversation with the *eminentes* who were there, as Alderman Waithman, Mr. Hartwell Horne, author of the 'Introduction;' Mr. Alexander Chalmers, author of the 'Biographical Dictionary;' Sir Peter and Lady Laurie, &c. I should have mentioned that I gave a second little speech in compliment to Mr. Horne, whom I offered as a toast. We went off in our carriages about ten, much delighted with the day's work, and retired to bed soon after our arrival.

"*Thursday.*—Started at seven. Breakfasted with Mr. Spencer Percival along with Mr. George Sinclair. A great deal of talk about the new miracles, which Mr. Percival is strongly inclined to believe. Mr. Henry Drummond was of the party.

We left them between ten and eleven. Mr. Sinclair took me to Lady Howe's, whose husband is the Queen's Chamberlain. She is the daughter of Lord Cardigan, and is the mother of eight children—the finest female specimen of the English aristocracy I ever saw, uniting the utmost grace with the utmost dignity in her appearance, while at the same time her manner and conversation are characterized by the utmost simplicity and *piety* and good sense. She had a conversation with the Queen lately, in which she begged not to be included in the invitation to Sunday dinners, and the result was most satisfactory. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*London, October 30th*, 1830.—MY DEAR FANNY,—You must have observed, if you attended properly and still keep in mind the conclusion of my letter to your sister Helen, that I then, Miss Fanny, brought down the narrative, you understand, to the dinner of Thursday last. But before that dinner, Dr. Singer, Sir John Connel, and myself, took a coach, which, in return for our taking it, took us to the Old Bailey. There we had the high honour of being placed on the Bench beside the Justices Garrow and Park, two of the twelve Judges of England. We saw some trials, and one poor man sentenced to be transported for embezzlement fourteen years. Sir Claudius Hunter took me to the next chambers where trials were going on. Mr. Denman presided, and we talked together on the footing of old acquaintances,—I having met him some years ago with Mr. Brougham in Glasgow. We afterwards dined in an adjoining apartment with the Judges and City Functionaries, under the same roof with the remanded criminals that filled the vast prison-house of Newgate. The Lord Mayor Elect was in the chair. All were as kind to me as possible. Justice Park was born in Edinburgh, and is a famous rattle in conversation. He is old enough to have seen the North Bridge fall. Sir Claudius

Hunter presented me with a pair of rock crystal lenses, which, when put into a frame, will make me excellent spectacles. I was introduced in the course of the day to Charles Phillips the famous Irish orator, and to Adolphus, also a barrister, and historian of George III. We had to speechify here again, too. We left about eight, and got to bed early. * * * At six took a coach to Mr. Murray's, Albemarle Street, bookseller, where I dined. My great introductions here were to Dr. Philpots, now Bishop of Exeter, and *Washington Irving*, author of the Sketch Book, &c. Dr. Philpots was as kind as possible, and has given me since an introduction to Durham. He requests a present of my book on Endowments, which is exciting, and *most justly* exciting, more and more attention in this our day. * * * Had a very interesting call from Mr. Irving between one and two while I was in bed. He stopped two hours, wherein he gave his expositions; and I gave at greater length and liberty than I had ever done before my advices and my views. We parted from each other with great cordiality, after a prayer which he himself offered and delivered with great pathos and piety.*—I this day finished my second perusal of the Greek

* This, we believe, was their last meeting. The remonstrances of Dr. Chalmers had no effect in dislodging from the mind of Mr. Irving his implicit faith in the restoration of miraculous gifts to the Church. How strong this belief remained with him to the last, will appear from the following affecting extract from a paper drawn up by his father-in-law, the late Dr. Martin of Kirkaldy :—

"Of his implicit obedience to what he believed to be the voice of Jehovah, one of the most striking instances was what led to his dying in Glasgow. His medical advisers had recommended him to proceed before the end of autumn to Madeira, or some other spot where he might shun the vicissitudes and inclemency of a British winter. But some of the oracular voices which found utterance in his church had proclaimed it to be the will of God that he should go to Scotland, and do a great work there. Accordingly, after an equestrian tour in Wales, by which his health appeared at first to be improved, but the benefit of which he lost through exposure to the weather and occasional preaching, contrary to the injunctions of his physician, he arrived at Liverpool on his way to the North. In that town he was taken alarmingly ill, and was unable for several days to quit his bed; but no sooner could he rise and walk through the room, than he went, in defiance of

New Testament. It is my purpose to read it just once over in the year till I have accomplished ten perusals of it.

"And now, Miss Fanny, this sheet is yours; but I think all the series should be bound together as the record of my present London journey; and it were well if all my similar records in times past were sewed and kept in the same manner. Be a good girl. I pray God to bless you and Mamma and all your sisters. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*London, Wednesday, November 3d*, 1830.—MY EVER DEAREST GRACE,—Dr. Andrews tells me that the populace were very outrageous yesterday against the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, which enhances my regret at not being there, for I would have liked to have seen what sort of thing a London row is. * * * I may also add, that I sent two copies of that

the prohibition of his medical attendant, on board a steamboat for Greenock. From Greenock he proceeded to Glasgow, delighted at having reached the first destination that had been indicated to him. From Glasgow it was his purpose to proceed to Edinburgh; but this I need not say he never accomplished. So much, however, was his mind impressed with its being his duty to go there, that even after he was unable to rise from his bed without assistance, he proposed that he should be carried thither in a litter, if the journey could not be accomplished in any other way; and it was only because the friends about him refused to comply with his urgent requests to that effect that the thing was not done. Could he have commanded the means himself, the attempt at least would have been made. Nor, though his frame of mind was that of almost continual converse with God, do I think that he ever lost the confidence, that after being brought to the very brink of the grave, he was still to mark the finger of God in his receiving strength for his Scottish mission, till the last day of his life was far advanced, when one of the most remarkable and comforting expressions which he uttered seemed to intimate that he had been debating the point with himself, whether he should yield to the monitions which increasing weakness gave him of approaching dissolution, or retain his assurance that he should yet be re-invigorated for his distant undertaking. 'Well,' said he, 'the sum of the matter is, if I live, I live unto the Lord; and if I die, I die unto the Lord; living or dying, I am the Lord's;'—a conclusion which seemed to set at rest all his difficulties on the subject of his duty. So strongly had his confidence of restoration communicated itself to Mrs. Irving, that it was not till within an hour or so of his death that she entertained any idea of the impending event."

great work on Endowments from Whittaker's to Drs. Whately and M'Bride in Oxford. Finally, I would say at present that I wish for a strong government; and I mean to reply to Lord Brougham's letter to that effect, as soon as I have got home and read it.* THOMAS CHALMERS."

* "MY DEAR SIR,—I congratulate you sincerely on the favourable prospects of some of those great causes in which (as indeed in most) we feel interested in common. Really slavery cannot now expect much longer protection from a Government so weak, that it is even about to give Parliamentary Reform as a sop, and to save itself for a few months.—Believe me, ever most respectfully and sincerely yours, H. BROUGHAM."

The above note was written when the Duke of Wellington was Premier, and not long before that celebrated declaration against any Parliamentary Reform which led to the overthrow of the Government and the bringing in of Lord Grey's administration.

CHAPTER XV.

SUDDEN DEATH OF DR. ANDREW THOMSON—PUBLIC TESTIMONY TO HIS CHARACTER AND WORTH.

Dr. Chalmers was not a member of the General Assembly of 1830, nor were any of those great questions in which he was specially interested brought forward for discussion. To the succeeding General Assembly, that of 1831, every member of the Church of Scotland may turn with pride when he desires a proof how readily false doctrine can be brought under the review of its Supreme Ecclesiastical Court, and how promptly and faithfully the decisions of that Court have been given forth. Mr. M'Lean, who had been presented to the parish of Dreghorn, and Mr. Scott, who had received a call to a congregation at Woolwich, were both summarily deprived of their license as preachers of the Gospel, because they had declared it to be their belief that Christ had taken on Him our "fallen" nature. The writings of their guide and master, Mr. Irving, being brought under the notice of the Assembly, the errors contained in them were emphatically condemned; while any Presbytery before which he might appear claiming the privileges either of a licentiate or ordained minister of the Church, was instructed to call him to its bar. After a sederunt of unparalleled length, the sitting commencing at eleven o'clock on the forenoon of Tuesday the 24th May, and not closing till a quarter past six o'clock on the morning of the 25th, Mr. Campbell, minister of Row, charged with holding and teach-

ing the doctrines of universal atonement and pardon, and that assurance is of the essence of faith and necessary to salvation, was solemnly deposed from the office of the holy ministry. Dr. Chalmers took no part in the discussions which led to these momentous results. He was not in Edinburgh when the Assembly began its sittings; and on the very day when it was engaged in discussing that case he writes:—"In regard to Mr. Campbell, &c., it would have required a whole month to have mastered the recent authorship on these topics, and to have prepared myself to my own satisfaction for taking part in the deliberations of the Assembly regarding them. As far as my light goes, I have rendered advice to Dr. M'Farlan and others on the subject." He never questioned either the necessity or the justice of any of the sentences passed by the Assembly; but he did not hesitate to say, that could a window have been opened into Mr. Campbell's breast, it would have been seen that he did not differ so greatly from many of his brethren in the ministry, as looking simply to the evidence of statements and facts they were judicially compelled to believe.

In the period intervening between these two Assemblies of 1830 and 1831, the Church of Scotland was deprived of one of the most eminent of its ministers. In the full vigour of his mental and physical energies, Dr. Andrew Thomson had taken part in the proceedings of the Presbytery of Edinburgh; on Wednesday the 9th of February. He left the Presbytery Hall about five o'clock in the afternoon. Meeting a friend by the way, and conversing with all his accustomed vivacity, he had reached his house in Melville Street. In front of his own door, and as his friend was leaving him, he turned rapidly round, as if to say something which he had forgotten, but fell back senseless upon the pavement. He was carried instantly into his house, and every effort to restore animation was made without delay.

The tidings of the deplorable event passed like lightning through the city. Dr. Chalmers hearing the fearful rumour hastened to the spot: but every attempt to reanimate the lifeless frame had failed. In a moment the spirit had passed into eternity. Meeting with his class on the following day, Dr. Chalmers closed his lecture as follows:—

"I meant, gentlemen, to have expatiated on this subject at greater length, and perhaps would have done so with greater vigour, but I must confess that the sad and saddening event of yesternight has unhinged me out of all strength for the requisite preparation. At the ordinary time employed in framing a lesson for others I was called away to be a learner myself—to read a lesson which of all others is the oftenest told yet the oftenest forgotten—to gaze upon features which a short time before were instinct with living energy, but which were then fast locked in the insensibility of death. I should not have felt myself justified in thus adverting to it had it only stood connected with personal griefs or personal interests of my own; but, gentlemen, it is an event of deepest interest to the members of a theological school, and more especially to those who are now training for the Church of Scotland, standing apprised, as I doubt not you all are, of the heavy loss that Church has sustained in the noblest and most distinguished of her ministers. A time of deep emotion is not the time for analysis; yet the characteristics of Dr. Thomson's mind stood forth in such bold and prominent relief, that it needs but their bare enumeration to be recognised by the most superficial observer. The first and foremost of these characteristics was a dauntless uncompromising honesty in the maintenance of all which he deemed to be the cause of truth and righteousness. But, gentlemen, I must spare myself the execution of this task, for I feel the wound to be greatly too recent, and that the afflicted heart keeps all the other faculties of the soul in abey-

ance. At present I have no steadiness of hand for drawing a portrait every lineament of which opens a fresh and bitter recollection. There is still an oppressive weight on the subject which makes all attempts at delineation impossible; and rather far than sketch the likeness of one who, with a suddenness so extraordinary, has been drawn away from us, would I now mingle in sympathy with his friends, or weep with his deserted family."

Tuesday the 15th of February was the day of Dr. Thomson's interment. Two thousand gentlemen in mourning, including the magistrates of the city, ministers of all denominations, the professors of the University, and members of other public bodies, followed his remains to the grave. Along the streets through which they passed every shop was shut, while upwards of 10,000 saddened spectators lined the pathway and crowded every window, and clothed the very house-tops, as the mournful procession passed by. Never before had there been such a funeral in Edinburgh, nor had a testimony so general, so spontaneous, so profound and so heartfelt, ever been offered to the memory and worth of any of her citizens. On the following Sabbath, while preaching the funeral sermon in St. George's Church, Dr. Chalmers thus alluded to the melancholy event:—

"It is as if death had wanted to make the highest demonstration of his sovereignty, and for this purpose had selected as his mark him who stood the foremost and the most conspicuous in the view of his countrymen. I speak not at present of any of the relations in which he stood to the living society immediately around him—to the thousands in church whom his well-known voice reached upon the Sabbath—to the tens of thousands in the city, whom, through the week, in the varied rounds and meetings of Christian philanthropy, he either guided by his counsel or stimulated by his eloquence. You know, over and above, how far the wide, and the wakeful, and the untired

benevolence of his nature carried him; and that, in the labours and the locomotions connected with these, he may be said to have become the personal acquaintance of the people of Scotland,—insomuch that there is not a village in the land where the tidings of his death have not conveyed the intimation that a master in Israel has fallen; and I may also add, that such was the charm of his companionship, such the cordiality lighted up by his presence in every household, that, connected with this death, there is, at this moment, an oppressive sadness in the hearts of many thousands even of our most distant Scottish families. And so a national lesson has been given forth by this event, even as a national loss has been incurred by it. It is a public death in the view of many spectators. And when one thinks of the vital energy by which every deed and every utterance were pervaded—of that prodigious strength which but gamboled with the difficulties that would have depressed and overborne other men—of that prowess in conflict, and that promptitude in counsel with his fellows—of that elastic buoyancy which ever rose with the occasion, and bore him onward and upward to the successful termination of his career—of the weight and multiplicity of his engagements; and yet, as if nothing could overwork that colossal mind, and that robust framework, the perfect lightness and facility wherewith all was executed—when one thinks, in the midst of these powers and these performances, how intensely he laboured, I had almost said how intensely he lived, in the midst of us, we cannot but acknowledge, that death, in seizing upon him, hath made full proof of a mastery that sets all the might and all the promise of humanity at defiance. * * *

"But the lesson is prodigiously enhanced when we pass from the pulpit to his household ministrations. I perhaps do him wrong in supposing that any large proportion of his hearers did not know him personally—for such was his matchless

superiority to fatigue, such the unconquerable strength and activity of his nature, that he may almost be said to have accomplished a sort of personal ubiquity among his people. But ere you can appreciate the whole effect of this, let me advert to a principle of very extensive operation in nature. Painters know it well: they are aware how much it adds to the force and beauty of any representation of theirs when made strikingly and properly to contrast with the background on which it is projected. And the same is as true of direct nature, set forth in one of her own immediate scenes, as of reflex nature set forth by the imagination and pencil of an artist. This is often exemplified in those Alpine wilds, where beauty may at times be seen embosomed in the lap of grandeur, as when, at the base of a lofty precipice, some spot of verdure, or peaceful cottage-home, seems to smile in more intense loveliness, because of the towering strength and magnificence which are behind it. Apply this to character, and think how precisely analogous is the effect, when, from the groundwork of a character that mainly in its texture and general aspect is masculine, there do effloresce the forthputtings of a softer nature, and those gentler charities of the heart which come out irradiated in tenfold beauty, when they arise from a substratum of moral strength and grandeur underneath. It is thus when the man of strength shews himself the man of tenderness; and he who, sturdy and impregnable in every righteous cause, makes his graceful descent to the ordinary companionships of life, is found to mingle, with kindred warmth, in all the cares and the sympathies of his fellow-men. Such, I am sure, is the touching recollection of very many who now hear me, and who can tell, in their own experience, that the vigour of his pulpit was only equalled by the fidelity and the tenderness of his household ministrations. They understand the whole force and significancy of the contrast I have now

been speaking of—when the pastor of the church becomes the pastor of the family; and he who, in the crowded assembly, held imperial sway over every understanding, has entered some parents' lowly dwelling, and prayed and wept along with them over their infant's dying bed. It is on occasions like these when the minister carries to its highest pitch the moral ascendency which belongs to his station. It is this which furnishes him with a key to every heart;—and when the triumphs of charity are superadded to the triumphs of argument, then it is that he sits enthroned over the affections of a willing people.

"I must now satisfy myself with a few slight and rapid touches on his character as a man. It is a subject I dare hardly approach. To myself he was at all times a joyous, hearty, gallant, honourable, and out-and-out most trustworthy friend—while, in harmony with a former observation, there were beautifully projected on this broad and general groundwork some of friendship's finest and most considerate delicacies. By far the most declared and discernible feature in his character, was a dauntless, and direct, and right-forward honesty, that needed no disguise for itself, and was impatient of aught like dissimulation or disguise in other men. There were withal a heart and a hilarity in his companionship, that everywhere carried its own welcome along with it; and there were none who moved with greater acceptance or wielded a greater ascendant over so wide a circle of living society. Christianity does not overbear the constitutional varieties either of talent or of temperament. After the conversion of the apostles their complexional differences of mind and character remained with them; and there can be no doubt that, apart from and anterior to the influence of the Gospel, the hand of nature had stamped a generosity, and a sincerity, and an openness on the subject of our description, among the very strongest of the lineaments which belong to him. Under an urgent sense of

rectitude he delivered himself with vigour and with vehemence in behalf of what he deemed to be its cause—but I would have you to discriminate between the vehemence of passion and the vehemence of sentiment, which, like though they be in outward expression, are wholly different and dissimilar in themselves. His was mainly the vehemence of sentiment, which, hurrying him when it did into what he afterwards felt to be excesses, was immediately followed up by the relentings of a noble nature. The pulpit is not the place for the idolatry of an unqualified panegyric on any of our fellow-mortals; but it is impossible not to acknowledge, that whatever might have been his errors, truth and piety and ardent philanthropy formed the substratum of his character; and that the tribute was altogether a just one, when the profoundest admiration, along with the pungent regrets of his fellow-citizens, did follow him to his grave."*

* See *Works*, vol. xvi. pp. 197-219.

CHAPTER XVI.

COMPOSITION AND PUBLICATION OF HIS WORK ON POLITICAL ECONOMY—OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF ITS FAVOURABLE RECEPTION—THE REFORM BILL—DR. CHALMERS'S OPPOSITION TO IT—DR. WELSH'S APPOINTMENT TO THE CHAIR OF CHURCH HISTORY—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. JEFFREY—PUBLICATION OF THE BRIDGEWATER TREATISE "ON THE ADAPTATION OF EXTERNAL NATURE TO THE MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL CONSTITUTION OF MAN."

On the 1st January 1827, Dr. Chalmers made this entry in his Journal:—"My chief earthly ambition is to finish a treatise on Political Economy, as the commencement of a series of future publications on Moral Philosophy and Theology. Consecrate this ambition, and purge it of all sin and selfishness, O God!" His appointment to the Theological Chair had arrested the execution of this fondly cherished project. The arrest, however, was but temporary. In November 1830 he commenced a weekly lecture, continued throughout the session, on the leading topics in the science of Political Economy; and on the 12th of April 1831, he sat down to the work of embodying in a regular and methodical treatise the reflections and preparations of many bygone years upon this favourite science. To the composition of this treatise the whole summer of 1831 was unremittingly devoted. Before his winter labours commenced it was ready for the press, and was published in January 1832. There was not one of his mental products more carefully matured, as there was none to which he himself was more fondly

attached. It was the favourite child of his intellect—clung to all the more tenderly that it got a very different welcome and entertainment from that which had been given to its elder brethren. He was himself aware beforehand of the unpropitious circumstances amidst which it was ushered into the world. As its sheets were passing through the press the Reform Bill was passing through the House of Commons. The country was convulsed beyond all precedent. It was clear either that that Bill must pass, or that the British Constitution must encounter the perils of a revolution. Dr. Chalmers was not in favour of the Reform Bill. He had no faith in many of the principles upon which it ordinarily was advocated. He could see no clear and valid ground for the assertion, that every citizen of a state had a right to be personally represented in its Legislature. He would have advocated the removal of the many and gross abuses by which the former system of representation was disfigured—he would have widened considerably the basis of the representation: but he thought that the measure proposed by Lord John Russell went farther than was necessary for the appeasing of the popular demand; and he believed that the popular anticipations of the benefits to accrue from it were many of them false, and all of them exaggerated. It was not that he considered those into whose hands the elective franchise was proposed to be confided as unfit for the trust —it was not that he grudged them the privilege about to be bestowed upon them—it was not that he looked with an evil eye upon the advance of the popular intelligence, or had any fears as to the admission of a larger number of his countrymen within the class of electors. But he had studied long and most earnestly that question, which now at last appears to have arrested the attention both of speculative and practical men —the question how the great mass of the labouring population of the country, in so many instances toil-worn and over-

driven, could be sustained in sufficiency and comfort—could be prevented from sinking, as he saw many of them doing, into greater straitness of circumstances, and into the necessity of severer toil. He heard it on all hands asserted that this great change in the mode of electing representatives was to effect a mighty amelioration upon the economic condition of the people. He utterly disbelieved such assertions; and more particularly as to that class of the community on whose behalf his own labours and sympathies had for years been expended. He was satisfied that it was to build up the labouring man of Britain in an egregious and misleading delusion, to direct him to the mode in which the members of the House of Commons were appointed, or to the measures which they might adopt, as to the main fountain of any great and permanent improvement in his economic condition. Despite therefore of all his predilections on the side of popular liberty, and all his hatred of oppression and corruption in government, Dr. Chalmers ranked himself among the opponents of the Reform Bill. And he had the same reasons for apprehension as to the fate of his forthcoming volume that he had as to the effects of Parliamentary Reform, for the reigning principle of that volume was the same with that on which his repugnance to the Reform Bill was based. It was not a purely scientific treatise on Political Economy that he was giving to the world; it was rather a survey of all the devices for enlarging the resources and adding to the comforts of the community which political economists had suggested, and which, now that the power seemed coming into their hands, political reformers might be ready to execute. It was a searching discussion of each of these proposed expedients, conducted according to the strictest laws of that science under whose fostering care they had been obtruded upon public notice, with the object of making it appear that each and all of them must

necessarily fail in accomplishing the desired result. A volume which declared this to be its main purpose at the beginning, and which pursued that purpose with undeviating and unrelenting tenacity to the end, was not likely to get a cordial welcome from those whose whole habits of thinking led them to assign supreme importance to that class of measures whose efficacy it was intended to depreciate. But the demonstration of the limited range and efficiency of all mere politico-economic expedients was intended by Dr. Chalmers only as the stepping-stone to the grand conclusion, that the one and only means whereby a steady, progressive, and secure advance in the economic estate of any population, and more especially of a population such as ours, in an old country of limited extent, could be ensured, was the spread of right principles, and the prevalence of moral and religious habits among the people themselves. He had here to encounter not only the prejudices of men wedded to their own peculiar theories, but the prejudices of men who put little if any value on the Church, or on Christian education, as a power affecting the social position and material comfort of the working classes. They might have borne more readily to be told that their own instrument was impotent, if this had not been told them for the very purpose of exalting into solitary and supreme importance another instrument in whose efficiency they had as little confidence as its advocate professed to have in theirs. As he looked around and contemplated the elements among which it was to embark, it was not without reason that in launching this treatise on Political Economy, Dr. Chalmers said,—"We are not sanguine either of a general or of an instant reception for the doctrines of our work. Its novelties may long be disregarded or derided as paradoxes. And it is not the achievement of a day to overturn the principles of a reigning school.

"And if not very hopeful of an instant acquiescence in our

principles, far less do we look for the instant adoption of our practical suggestions. The urgencies of the country may perhaps speed onwards the commutation of tithes, and the measure of a universal education. The commutation of taxes into a territorial impost will be the work of a later age; though we should rejoice even now, did we witness a commencement however humble, an approximation however slow, to this great political and economical reform.

"May God of his infinite mercy grant, that whatever the coming changes in the state and history of this nation may be, they shall not be the result of a sweeping and headlong anarchy; but rather, in the pacific march of improvement, may they anticipate this tremendous evil, and avert it from our borders. There is a general impression upon all spirits, that something must be done. But to be done well, it must not be by the hand of violence, but by the authority of legitimate power under the guidance of principle; by a government having both the wisdom and righteousness to direct, and the strength to execute. Amid the conflicts and agitations of our social state, it will be the heart's desire of every Christian, the fondest prayer of every true patriot, that Religion and Reason may ever preside over the destinies of our beloved land."

The reception of the volume was not different from that which its author had anticipated, but he could scarcely have been prepared for the flippant style in which he was characterized as one "incompetent to reason on this subject," who had adopted a "most portentous and abominable doctrine"—"a miserable sophism which lay at the bottom of his whole economical system."* Dr. Chalmers's explanation of the singular rapidity with which capital recovers itself, and regains all its former sufficiency after periods of wholesale destruction, was reckoned at the time among the minor sophisms with which his work

* See *Quarterly Review*, vol. xlviii. pp. 39, 69.

was replete; yet we find one of the latest authorities (an authority not likely to be swayed by any peculiar bias in Dr. Chalmers's favour) saying, "so fatal is the habit of thinking through the medium of only one set of technical phrases, and so little reason have studious men to value themselves on being exempt from the very same mental infirmities which beset the vulgar, that the simple explanation was never given (so far as I am aware) by any political economist before Dr. Chalmers—a writer many of whose opinions I think erroneous, but who has always the merit of studying phenomena at first hand, and expressing them in a language of his own, which often uncovers aspects of the truth that the received phraseologies only tend to hide."* That time shall effect a like change of opinion in favour of other portions of the more purely scientific departments of Dr. Chalmers's work—that the economists of a future age shall speak as favourably of his other labours within their own domain, as Mr. Mill does of this single speculation, it might be presumptuous to affirm; but as to the great general principle which the treatise was written to illustrate and enforce, we can scarcely doubt that the period of its general recognition is drawing nigh. The history of opinion and practice as to the best methods of promoting comfort, will be the same with that as to the best methods of preventing crime. A very general conviction already exists that punishment has failed to check crime—that it has had scarcely any sensible effect in diminishing its amount—that we have been working all the while at the wrong end, wasting upon police, and gaols, and emigrant ships, and penal colonies, what would have been far better and more productively employed in bringing education and moral and religious influences to bear upon that class of the community out of which criminals are generated. It has become almost a motto

* *Principles of Political Economy*, by John Stuart Mill, vol. i. p. 94. London, 1848.

with us, that prevention is better than punishment. It will be the same as to the economic condition of the lowest classes of the commonwealth, although opinion may take here a longer period to make a like transition. At present it is the fond hope that by adding to the productiveness of our own soil, and by opening up easier access to the corn of other countries, by the enlargement of capital and the consequent increase of employment, provision will be made for sustaining at their present standard of enjoyment our growing population. And our civic and legislative philanthropists finding that notwithstanding the advances of national prosperity, large sections of the people instead of rising are sinking in the scale, are busy with manifold external appliances, by which to lift up the sinking mass. Their labours will not be wholly fruitless, but at best they will avail only to retard a descent which they will not be able to prevent; and when their failure becomes as manifest as that of penal inflictions in checking crime, then to the motto that prevention is better than punishment, there will come to be added this other motto, that character is the parent of comfort—the best creator, preserver, distributor of wealth.

"In these circumstances," says Dr. Chalmers, "that is, when the means cannot be made larger for the population, it becomes abundantly obvious that nothing can save us from the miseries of a straitened condition, but a population small enough for the means. The highway to this is education. And this is a precious use of the enlargements which are still before us, and by which the families of the land are translated for a time from extreme misery into a state of comparative ease. They then become fitter subjects for education, than when sunk in the distress and desperation of abject poverty. When viewed in the light of absolute or ultimate resources, we have no great value either for the removal of prohibitions from the corn trade, or for the removal of tithes and taxes from agri-

culture, or finally, for emigration. But when these expedients are viewed in the relation of subserviency to the education of the people, (because they afford a temporary lightening of the pressure that is now upon their families; and along with this, a spirit, and a leisure, and a means for their moral and literary culture,) in this light they may prove of incalculable service to the good of humanity. But still the position remains, that it is education, and that only, wherein the whole positive efficiency lies for a permanent amelioration in the state of the lower orders. Education is the specific; and the other expedients are at best but the circumstances for a more fit and powerful ministration of it. But the whole effect of these expedients, when once put into operation, will speedily be exhausted. The favourable opportunities which they afford last but for a season only. They are opportunities which cannot be recalled; and if not improved for the purposes of a general education, they will leave the state of the population more irrecoverable than before.

"We cannot bid adieu to our argument, without making the strenuous avowal, that all our wishes, and all our partialities, are on the side of the common people. We should rejoice in a larger secondary, and a smaller disposable population; or, which is tantamount to this, in higher wages to the labourers, and lower rents to the landlords. But this cannot be effected save by the people themselves—and that, not with violence on their part, or by any assertion, however successful, of a political equality with the other orders of the State. There is no other way of achieving for them a better economical condition, than by means of a more advantageous proportion between the food of the country and the number of its inhabitants; and no other way of securing this proportion than by the growth of prudence and principle among themselves. It will be the aggregate effect of a higher taste, a higher intelligence, and

above all, a wide-spread Christianity, throughout the mass of the population; and thus, the most efficient ministers of that gospel which opens to them the door of heaven, will be also the most efficient ministers of their temporal comfort and prosperity upon earth. Next to the salvation of their souls, one of our fondest aspirations in behalf of the general peasantry is, that they shall be admitted to a larger share of this world's abundance than now falls to their lot. But we feel assured that there is no method by which this can be wrested from the hands of the wealthier classes. It can only be won from them by the insensible growth of their own virtue. The triumph will be a glorious, but, to be effectual and enduring, it must be a pacific one—achieved not on the field of blood, or amid the uproar of a furious and discordant politics. It will be a sure, but a silent victory—the fruit of a moral warfare, whose weapons are not carnal but spiritual; and which shall at length come to a prosperous termination, not in strife and anarchy and commotion, but in showers of grace from on high upon the prayers and labours of the good."*

The quiet tenor of the period during which the work on Political Economy was written was occasionally discomposed by negotiations and correspondence consequent upon the death of Dr. Meiklejohn, Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh. Dr. Chalmers could not fail to take a lively interest in the appointment of a successor to this chair, and that interest was quickened into anxiety by the fear that a plurality was about to be created. This fear was relieved by the following letter from Mr. Jeffrey, then Lord Advocate for Scotland:—

"*London, 26th June,* 1831.—MY DEAR SIR,—You probably know by this time that the appointment of —— to the Church History Chair has been suspended, and I rather think that it will not now be united to any Church living.

* See *Works*, vol. xx. pp. 39-41.

"When a different purpose was entertained it was under an impression that its separate emoluments were so inconsiderable as to make it altogether impossible that it could be kept by itself, and most certainly not in consequence of any insensibility to the bad consequences of such conjunctions generally, or indifference to the dissatisfaction which any more examples of them would excite in the Church. I am anxious to make this statement, not so much in vindication of the slight and humble part I may be supposed to have had in the matter, as in justice to those higher and more responsible advisers of the Sovereign with whom the appointment rests; and I have great pleasure in assuring you, that they are fully alive to the importance of the principle which you have so long and so zealously advocated, and that I am persuaded they will never act in opposition to it where it is possible to give it effect.

"Any little efforts I can contribute shall not be wanting either to this or to any other cause in which you take an interest, being fully satisfied that I can have no better test of the tendency of any measure to confer a benefit on mankind than that it receives your deliberate support.—Believe me always, with the greatest esteem and respect, my dear Sir, your obliged and faithful Servant, F. JEFFREY."

It was not till three months after the date of this letter, in the course of which interval the vacant chair had been offered to and been declined by the Rev. Mr. Aitken of Minto, that Dr. Chalmers was at last relieved and delighted by the announcement that Dr. Welsh had received the appointment.

"*London, 29th September*, 1831.—MY DEAR DR. CHALMERS,—We have deferred to your high authority, and finally agreed to appoint Mr. Welsh. We rely implicitly on your estimate of the man, and feel—all of us who were called upon to decide on the applications—that it was impossible to refuse the most gifted

teacher of theology of our age the choice of the individual whom he so decidedly preferred as his associate in the University where he presides over these studies.

" I do not know whether Lord Melbourne has distinctly explained to you that *this* was the ground of our decision, but whether it affords you any gratification or not, it is too gratifying to me to know that it was so, to let me refrain from making you acquainted with the fact.

" I cannot tell you how I have been longing for the quiet and the friends of my distant home, and how my heart sinks when I think how uncertain and probably distant my return to them may be. It does not tend to lighten this anxious longing that we seem fast hastening to a more appalling crisis in our domestic affairs than I ever fancied I should live to witness. It would be frightful indeed if we were guided only by human wisdom.

" It would be very soothing to me to know that you sometimes think of me not without regard. I can truly say that the contemplation of your pure and lofty character always elevates and composes me.—Ever very respectfully yours,—F. JEFFREY."

Whilst revolving the project of a lectureship and publication on Political Economy, Dr. Chalmers had received the following communication from the Bishop of London :—

" *London, 1st October*, 1830.—MY DEAR SIR,—You may perhaps have heard that the late Earl of Bridgewater left the sum of £8000 to be disposed of by the President of the Royal Society, in procuring a treatise or treatises to be written in proof of the wisdom and benevolence of the Deity as manifested in the works of creation.

" Mr. Davies Gilbert is of opinion it may with advantage be treated of under eight distinct heads, one of which is, the adaptation of the physical constitution of man to his intellec-

tual and moral faculties, or *vice versa;* another is the provision made by the Deity for the wants and comforts of man in the works of nature.

"Mr. D. Gilbert having consulted me on the subject, I told him, that if you could be prevailed upon to undertake the former of these heads it would be well disposed of, and accordingly he has authorized me to propose it to you. The expenses of publication will be defrayed out of the legacy, after which I suppose that there will be a sum of from £700 to £800 payable to the writer of each treatise.

"It would give me great pleasure to learn that your name might adorn the list.—I remain, dear Sir, with sincere respect, your very faithful servant, C. J. LONDON."

Much gratified by an invitation which associated him with so many eminent men in the accomplishment of so important a service, Dr. Chalmers willingly undertook the office thus assigned to him; and the summer months of 1832 were given up to the composition of a treatise "On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man." The treatise was published in 1833, and notwithstanding the depreciatory notice of it in the Quarterly Review, it met with a very large amount of public approbation and acceptance. Two editions of fifteen hundred each were disposed of as soon as published. In 1834 a third edition of the same number of copies was called for by the public, after which its sale in the form of a Bridgewater Treatise was arrested by its being incorporated in the first, second, and fifth volumes of that series of its author's works, the publication of which commenced in the year 1836. We are invited thus to regard the Bridgewater Treatise as a portion of that more extended work on Natural Theology to which our attention will hereafter be directed.

CHAPTER XVII.

OFFER OF THE WEST CHURCH IN GREENOCK—LETTER TO SIR ROBERT PEEL—STATE OF THE COUNTRY—APPROACH OF THE CHOLERA—APPOINTMENT OF A FAST-DAY, DR. CHALMERS'S SERMON AND PRAYER—SCHEME OF NATIONAL EDUCATION FOR IRELAND—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. STANLEY.

THE ministerial charge of the West Church in Greenock having recently become vacant, the patron, Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, requested Dr. Chalmers to accept of that living: a generous and unsolicited offer, which was thus gratefully declined:—

"EDINBURGH, 27*th December* 1831.

"TO SIR MICHAEL SHAW STEWART.

"DEAR SIR MICHAEL,—I deeply feel the whole force of the compliment you have done me in offering to my acceptance the most lucrative ecclesiastical living in Scotland, and whose endowments, I believe, are nearly double those of the one which I now occupy. You may well believe that nothing could induce me to decline the honour and the advantage of such a proposal but a firm conviction of the superior importance of a theological chair to any church whatever, along with the rooted preference which I have ever felt for the professorial over the ministerial life.

"My personal gratitude to yourself for this truly handsome proposition is in every way as strong and as heartfelt as if

I had acceded to it. You have in fact conferred upon me a substantial favour by having placed within my reach a benefice so lucrative. You have enabled me to say, in language which cannot be mistaken, in what estimation I hold the professorships of theology throughout Scotland; and in pleading, whether for the virtuous patronage or for the adequate endowment of these high offices, your offer of the parish of Greenock will effectually shield me from any ungenerous imputation to which I might otherwise have been exposed.

"Permit me to state the cordial satisfaction I feel in the deep sense which you express of the responsibility that attaches to the exercise of the Church patronage wherewith Providence hath invested you; and with my most earnest prayers both for your public usefulness and for your highest personal interests, I have the honour to be, dear Sir Michael, your much obliged and most obedient Servant, THOMAS CHALMERS."

The sensitiveness to ungenerous imputations evinced in this letter had been quickened by the recent publication of a Report of the Royal Commissioners for the Visitation of Colleges in Scotland. This Report placed Dr. Chalmers in so ambiguous a position, that as his only method of defence he published that Letter to the Royal Commissioners which has already been alluded to in this volume.* In transmitting a copy of this pamphlet to Sir Robert Peel, he sent with it the following letter:—

"*February* 16*th*, 1832.

"TO SIR ROBERT PEEL.

"DEAR SIR ROBERT,—I have taken the liberty of sending you a pamphlet on the subject of the Commissioners' Report on Scottish Colleges, wherein they have implicated me, in opposition to all the evidence, in the foul charge of an illegal

* See *Ante*, pp. 112-115.

suppression. It grieves me to take up a moment of your attention on a matter that personally interests myself, and still more that I find it impossible to complete my vindication without bringing forward a statement which must seriously affect the conduct and respectability of some of your own personal, or at least political, friends. I have said no more in the publication than I felt to be necessary for the purposes of self-defence; but I may take the opportunity of mentioning to you, that the appropriations of College revenue which I all along resisted, but which the Commissioners first privately sanctioned and then publicly condemned, were made to an amount that would have accumulated to £64,000, out of a fund expressly designed by law for the maintenance of the buildings, which buildings, nevertheless, were suffered to fall into such utter disrepair as to require a grant, that was obtained through the interest of Lord Melville, of £23,000 for the reparation of them.

"In these fearful times, when all our establishments are in danger, I hold it of more importance, that, situated as I am at the highest fountainhead of the Scottish Church, the stain which the representation of the Commissioners would have fastened on my character should be done away, than that either their feelings should be spared, or even that their reputation should be left entire.

"I am a thorough Conservative, but I feel assured that it is only by a resolute adherence to principle, without regard to persons, on the part of those who are influentially or conspicuously placed in society, that our institutions will stand. I owe you many apologies for this intrusion, and with much gratitude for all your kindness to me, I have the honour to be, dear Sir Robert, THOMAS CHALMERS."

The times had been truly fearful. The rick-burnings of Kent, the machine-breakings of the manufacturing counties,

the political riots of Derby, Nottingham, and Bristol,* told too clearly what a dark and fiery spirit possessed the lowest classes of the people. In that great civil contest into which the general community had been plunged, the aggressive vehemence of one party, and the unyielding obstinacy of the other, had kept the country trembling for months on the edge of revolution; while over the whole land there had been hanging a vague mysterious terror, the fear of the approaching pestilence, now visibly on its march to England across Europe. In January 1831, a motion for the appointment of a day of public humiliation and confession of sin had been brought before the Presbytery of Edinburgh. Dr. Chalmers resisted that motion as inopportune, introduced as it had been at a season of great political agitation. "I hold," he said, in addressing the Presbytery on this occasion, "I hold the question now before us to be one of the utmost difficulty. I have both the deepest veneration for the piety which has prompted this motion and the utmost confidence in the efficacy of prayer; but it is obvious that these feelings do not supersede the question—what is there in the present circumstances of the country which specially calls for a public and authoritative act on the part of the Presbytery?—and the effect of which act, if it shall go the length of an appointment, would be a compulsion on every minister within our bounds to hold a public service in his parish, whatever his opinion may be as to the expediency of the measure, and a compulsion on every layman within these parishes, whatever his opinion may be, to suspend his worldly business upon the occasion. I confess my dislike to this interposition of authority on our part, until the country shall be unequivocally in that state which would lead to a far

* At the first passing of the Reform Bill through the House of Commons there was a popular demand for an illumination in Edinburgh. Dr. Chalmers did not illuminate, and, in common with many others, had the windows of his house in Forres Street broken by the mob.

more general acquiescence in the measure than I fear is at present to be looked for; and greatly more to my taste than any expression which had in it aught of the ingredient of force would be the willing piety of the heart, the offering of our spontaneous and unconstrained services. I should therefore have vastly preferred that these gentlemen, instead of moving the Presbytery upon the subject, had held congregational fasts among their own people. It is precisely the direction I would myself have taken in their circumstances. I happen to think that there is a loud call both for public and individual prayer in the present circumstances of our nation, but that on a principle in which I would not expect such a degree of sympathy from my brethren as might warrant the attempt to carry them along with me, and I would therefore have limited the matter to my own pulpit, if I had had one, and to those of my own people who chose to join with me. They are not, in my estimation, the burnings of Kent—they are not the disturbances of Ireland—they are not the general heavings of political turbulence and disorder all over Europe, that bode the most of coming disease and judgment upon our land—they are the fearful symptoms of an infidelity, reaching even to our high places, that would put all interventions of prayer and of Providence to scorn, and dethrone the great God of heaven and earth from His practical ascendency over human affairs. There is one ground on which I do feel comfort at the introduction of this topic in the hearing of my brethren. Here the subject will be treated at least with decency and respect. There will be no vulgar merriment—no coarse and revolting impiety—no marks by the hands of reporters of those 'laughings,' and 'loud laughings,' which, happen in what assembly they may, call for the deepest regret and concern; and when they do happen in the highest assembly of the nation, look like the fearful token of a country on the

eve of its destruction, because of a country forsaken by its God."*

After a year of suspense and exaggerated terror the much dreaded cholera at last approached our shores. Breaking out at Sunderland and Newcastle, it made its way northward towards Edinburgh, and had already reached the neighbouring town of Haddington. The Presbytery of Edinburgh, at their meeting on the 25th January 1832, resolved that Thursday, the 9th February, should be observed as a fast-day within their bounds. In consequence of the announcement that it was the intention of Government to appoint a day for a national fast, some members of the Presbytery conceived that it would be becoming and judicious to suspend the Presbyterial appointment, and, for the purpose of effecting such a suspension, a *pro re nata* meeting of Presbytery was held on Saturday the 4th February. Meanwhile, however, the destroying scourge had crossed the city gates, and commenced its fatal work in the pauper haunts of the old town and the village of the Water of Leith. The call to immediate humiliation was more urgent than ever, and the proposal to suspend the Presbyterial fast was successfully resisted. "My first, my main reason, indeed," said Dr. Chalmers upon this occasion, "for wishing an earlier Presbyterial fast, and not waiting till a later national one, is that in every case of urgent and immediate danger I should like the speediest and promptest application of the remedy that is suited to it. For the averting of disease I believe in the healing virtue of medicine, but for the averting of disease I believe also in the healing virtue of prayer. I would rather, therefore, have a fast in a few days than a fast in a few weeks, on the very principle that I would rather take the proper medicine in an hour than delay taking it till to-morrow. I

* Referring to the jests and laughter with which the proposal of a Fast-day was received by one or two members of the House of Commons.

hold that religion is a mockery, and the Church and the priesthood are but a solemn imposition on the world, if there be no substantial efficacy in prayer—if there be no such process as that of a real and actual interchange between Heaven and earth, of ascending petitions on the one hand, of descending mercies and fulfilments on the other. But believing, as I do, in the doctrine of prayer in the plain and literal import of it, as being an asking on the one side and a receiving on the other, I would have the speediest possible day for public and social prayer, and that for the business object of laying the speediest possible arrest on the progress of the destroyer. When once this principle takes full possession of the mind all other considerations are of a subordinate and secondary character. If only confident of the effect of prayer in propitiating the favour of God, one cares less and thinks less of the effect it may have upon men.

"And yet this latter object ought not to be undervalued, nor am I at all unwilling to enter on the question of the effect which any measure of ours may have on the minds and feelings of general society. There is no subject on which men are more apt to go astray than when pronouncing on the state of the public taste or the public sentiment in regard to any given question. Each man takes his impression from that part of the public wherewith he himself has personally and immediately to do; and perhaps it will be just set down as my individual variety of opinion on this matter, but I must confess it to be my strong, indeed my confident impression, that by our perseverance in the resolution of last Presbytery on the subject of the fast, by our holding it even in the prospect of another which we are bound to hold with equal solemnity and reverence, we shall earn the blessings and the grateful acknowledgments of all that is best principled and best conditioned among the families of Edinburgh.

"On this question I do feel for the character and independence of our Church. The inconvenience of a double fast is a bagatelle when compared with the permanent stain that we shall inflict by this method of avoiding it. Did ever the ecclesiastical give way to the civil in such a manner before?—and shall we compare the temporary awkwardness that will soon be got over, with the perpetual mischief of the conspicuous precedent held forth by this metropolitan Presbytery in the sight of all the land? I hailed with delight the Presbyterial appointment, though from my absence on the day of its being made, I had no share in it; and I hail with equal, perhaps with surpassing delight, the promise of a national appointment. I rejoice in the public recognition of God by our rulers, whether in Church or State; and there are thousands and tens of thousands amongst us, who will most cordially do honour to both.

"It has been said that men will not suspend their secular business on the Presbyterial fast-day; and that, in particular, the civil authorities will not acknowledge it. Our services will not be the less interesting, and I may add not the less effective, though none but simple and spontaneous worshippers—the worshippers of the heart—are found to share in them. The strength of our Church lieth not in the countenance of power, it lies in the religion of our people; and I promise, if our appointment for Thursday shall stand, such a general response to it on the part of the population, as will cause every lover of our Establishment to rejoice. And if the civil authorities do refuse their countenance to it, we, I trust, shall never be wanting in all loyalty and respect to them. The men who do profoundest homage to the Presbyterial fast, will do profoundest homage to the national fast also. We shall do the one, and most assuredly not leave the other undone."*

* From the original MS.

By a majority of twenty-two to eleven, the Presbytery of Edinburgh resolved to keep to their original appointment; and in the general and devout observance of the day, Dr. Chalmers's anticipations were more than verified. The national fast was not kept till the 22d February. During the interval, in Edinburgh as in other large towns, most extraordinary and disgraceful exhibitions of popular ignorance and misguided passion had occurred. The medical faculty, notwithstanding all the pains that they had taken in preparing for the disease on its approach, and the chivalrous devotion of their attempts to stay or mitigate it after it had appeared, became the objects of popular suspicion and malice. Riotous crowds assembled round the cholera hospitals, and would scarcely suffer the patients to be admitted, or the medical officers to do their duty. In their visits to some of those wretched tenements where the disease prevailed, the benevolent exertions of Dr. Abercrombie, and other leading members of his profession, were repaid by rudest insult. Under these circumstances, in conducting the devotional services of the national fast-day in St. George's Church, Dr. Chalmers offered up the following prayer:—

"Do Thou, O Lord, ward off from us the farther inroads of that desolating plague, which in its mysterious progress over the face of the earth has made such fearful ravages among the families of other lands. Hitherto, O God, Thou hast dealt mildly and mercifully with the city of our own habitation. Do Thou pour out the spirit of grace and supplication upon its inhabitants, and spare them, if it be Thy blessed will, the inflictions of that wrath which is so rightfully due to a careless and ungodly generation.

"We pray, O Lord, in a more especial manner for those patriotic men whose duty calls them to a personal encounter with this calamity, and who, braving all the hazards of infection, may be said to stand between the living and the dead.

Save them from the attacks of disease; save them from the obloquies of misconception and prejudice; and may they have the blessings and acknowledgments of a grateful community to encourage them in their labours.

"Above all, we pray, O God, that the infidelity which places all its reliance on secondary causes, may never sway either the councils of this city, or the councils of this nation.* May there at all times be the public recognition of a God in the midst of us. And let not the defiance or the levity of irreligious men ever tempt us to forget that mighty unseen Being, who has all the forces of nature at His command,—who sits behind the elements that He has formed, and gives birth, and movement, and continuance to all things."

On the evening of the Sabbath on which this prayer was publicly offered up, Dr. Chalmers received the following note from one of the Judges of the Court of Session:—"I hope you will excuse my taking the liberty of requesting that you would commit to paper that admirable portion of your last prayer this afternoon, which more especially referred to those engaged in warding off, and using the necessary means for relieving those afflicted with cholera. Nothing, I am persuaded, would tend so effectually to remove the prejudices of the lower orders against the Medical Board, which I fear prevail pretty extensively, than the knowledge of this solemn appeal in their behalf to Almighty God having been put up by one so justly entitled to public confidence and respect; and there is nothing, I also am persuaded, at present more essentially necessary to the public welfare, so far as this pestilence is concerned. Your giving me permission to use it for this purpose, if you think fit to comply with my request, will oblige," &c. The prayer, I believe, had already been committed to paper by one of the

* In the House of Commons, the recognition of God's hand in the pestilence had been denounced by one member as "cant, hypocrisy, and humbug."

audience. It appeared soon afterwards in one of the newspapers of the day, was printed in a separate form, and circulated through Edinburgh.

The sermon which Dr. Chalmers preached on the occasion above alluded to, was upon a very favourite topic—On the consistency between the efficacy of prayer and the uniformity of nature.* In illustrating the subject, he said—"But, instead of propounding our doctrine in the terms of a general argument, let us try the effect of a few special instances, by which, perhaps, we might more readily gain the consent of your understanding to our views.

"When the sigh of the midnight storm sends fearful agitation into a mother's heart, as she thinks of her sailor boy now exposed to its fury on the waters of a distant ocean, these stern disciples of a hard and stern infidelity would, on this notion of a rigid and impracticable constancy in nature, forbid her prayers, holding them to be as impotent and vain, though addressed to the God who has all the elements in His hand, as if lifted up with senseless importunity to the raving elements themselves. Yet nature would strongly prompt the aspiration; and if there be truth in our argument, there is nothing in the constitution of the universe to forbid its accomplishment. God might answer the prayer, not by unsettling the order of secondary causes—not by reversing any of the wonted successions that are known to take place in the ever-restless, ever-heaving atmosphere—not by sensible miracle among those nearer footsteps which the philosopher has traced,—but by the touch of an immediate hand among the deep recesses of materialism, which are beyond the ken of all his instruments. It is thence that the Sovereign of nature might bid the wild uproar of the elements into silence. It is there that the virtue comes out of

* See the discourse in *Works*, vol. vii. p. 284; and the same subject more elaborately treated in *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 314-358.

Him, which passes like a winged messenger from the invisible to the visible; and, at the threshold of separation between these two regions, impresses the direction of the Almighty's will on the remotest cause which science can mount her way to. From this point in the series, the path of descent along the line of nearer and proximate causes may be rigidly invariable; and in respect of the order, the precise undeviating order, wherewith they follow each other, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation. The heat, and the vapour, and the atmospherical precipitates, and the consequent moving forces by which either to raise a new tempest, or to lay an old one, all these may proceed, and without one hair-breadth of deviation, according to the successions of our established philosophy, yet each be but the obedient messenger of that voice, which gave forth its command at the fountainhead of the whole operation; which commissioned the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth, and made lightnings for the rain, and brought the wind out of his treasuries. These are the palpable steps of the process; but an unseen influence, behind the farthest limit of man's boasted discoveries, may have set them agoing. And that influence may have been accorded to prayer—the power that moves Him who moves the universe; and who, without violence to the known regularities of nature, can either send forth the hurricane over the face of the deep, or recall it at His pleasure. Such is the joyful persuasion of faith, and proud philosophy cannot disprove it. A woman's feeble cry may have overruled the elemental war, and hushed into silence this wild frenzy of the winds and the waves, and evoked the gentler breezes from the cave of their slumbers, and wafted the vessel of her dearest hopes, and which held the first and fondest of her earthly treasures, to its desired haven."

In 1828, a Committee of the House of Commons, to which

were referred the various Reports of the Commissioners of Education, had recommended a system to be adopted for Ireland, "which should afford, if possible, a combined literary and a separate religious education; and should be capable of being so far adapted to the views of the religious persuasions which prevailed in Ireland, as to render it in truth a system of National Education for the poorest classes of the community." In 1831, under Earl Grey's administration, His Majesty's Government resolved to make the experiment of carrying this recommendation into effect. Mr. Stanley's Letter to the Duke of Leinster gave the first official announcement of the scheme which it was proposed to institute. According to the instructions contained in this Letter, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland was to be empowered to constitute a Board, consisting of persons professing different religious opinions, for the superintendence of National Education. This Board was to exercise a complete control over all the schools erected under its auspices; and, in particular, over all the books employed, whether in the combined literary, or the separate religious instructions. It was required of all schools placing themselves under the Board, that they should be kept open for four or five days in the week, at the discretion of the Commissioners, for moral and literary education *only;* and that the remaining one or two days in the week should be set apart for giving separately such religious instruction to the children, as should be approved of by the clergy of their respective persuasions. The Board was also to "permit and encourage the clergy to give religious instruction to the children of their respective persuasions, either before or after the ordinary school-hours on the other days of the week." A book of Scripture extracts, drawn up under the immediate supervision of the Commissioners, was to be employed in the combined instructions given during the ordinary school-hours; and it was understood that a register should be kept of the

attendance of the children at their different places of worship on the Sabbath days.

The publication of this scheme evoked a most determined opposition. It awakened the keen hostility of the advocates and supporters of the Kildare Street Society; a society which stood at the head of those engaged in the enlightenment of Ireland, to which large Government-grants had hitherto been annually extended, and from which they were henceforth to be withdrawn. In the schools connected with that Society attendance was imperative on a daily class for the reading of the Holy Scriptures: while from the ordinary instructions of the schools constituted under the new Board, the Bible was to be withdrawn. The friends of Scriptural education in Ireland, who had noticed with delight that the number of Roman Catholic children receiving the benefit of the instructions given in the Kildare Street Schools had been progressively increasing, were struck with consternation at this change. It seemed to be unequal and unjust; to be at once a violating of the first principles of equity, and a public dishonour done to the Word of God, that, in deference to the Roman Catholic priesthood, the children of Protestant parents should be deprived during the ordinary school-hours of that kind of instruction which they most highly prized, and that a brand should be put upon the Holy Scriptures by this authoritative prohibition of their employment. To the materials of opposition which the system itself supplied, others were added. Political rancour swelled the tide of offended religious feeling. The new scheme of education was denounced as a fit progeny of Whig invention—a godless system devised by men who cared less for the truth of God than for their own political popularity, and who had sacrificed the one to gain the other. The excited Orangemen of Ireland, who rose unanimously to resist the measure, invoked the aid of all true Protestants; and having found, as

they imagined, a most effective weapon of assault against the Government, they wielded it with a hearty good-will. The opposition thus created was most formidable. From all parts of the country, petitions against the scheme flowed in upon the House of Commons. In the condemnation passed upon the leading features of the new system, Scotland was disposed at once to join. On the 2d April 1832, an extraordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh was held for the special consideration of this subject. It was moved that the Presbytery should forthwith petition Parliament against the Government plan of education for Ireland. Although it was very ably and temperately introduced and recommended, Dr. Chalmers was not prepared to accede to such a motion. "We all know, Moderator," said he, "that this has been a question very keenly agitated elsewhere; that it has given rise in many quarters to a very busy fermentation; and that certainly one ingredient of this fermentation, is what I trust will never be admitted within the limits of any ecclesiastical court in the Church of Scotland. The fact is too glaring to be denied, that often, very often, there has been a great deal more of politics than of religion in this opposition to the scheme of education in Ireland; and that thousands are the individuals who care not a straw for Christianity, who have gladly seized upon the topic, and now wield it as a mere instrument of annoyance, and, they hope, of eventual overthrow to the existing administration. I trust that the very respectable movers of the question in this place, will give me full credit when I acquit them, as I do most cordially, of any sinister, any secondary design of this sort; indeed, we should all, I am firmly persuaded, feel it a sad prostitution of our Presbytery to be made the organ of any State party whatever. But now that the matter is brought before us, it is our part rightly to entertain it, and feeling purely and proudly independent, whether on the politics of the

Ministry, or the politics of the opposition, calmly and conscientiously, as best we may, to give upon it a sound and Christian-like deliverance. Certain it is, that Government is now engaged with a problem of great difficulty; and our becoming part is not in a factious spirit to embarrass, but in a friendly, and withal frank and honest spirit, to lay our sentiments before them. And I have no scruple in avowing it as my own sentiment, that in the instance chiefly complained of, they have made a most unfortunate departure from right principle. Their great error—which they share in common with their predecessors—the error, in fact, into which our rulers were betrayed even anterior to that measure of Emancipation which I happen to have most cordially approved of, and in which error they seem to have persisted ever since, is to have made the Catholics, or any other class of subjects whatever, parties in the negotiation. All along they have been far more anxious to find out what would please the Catholics, than to find out what was in itself right. Now, instead of treating either with Catholics or Orangemen upon this question, it would have been far better had they, in the exercise of their independent wisdom, framed their own independent measure, adopting not what was at the time the most popular, but what, in the light of abstract and immutable truth, was the best constitution of a school, and then held it forth as the only constitution they would stand by, and which they offered to the acceptance of the population."* Dr. Chalmers proceeded to state what it was in the constitution actually adopted for the schools, which appeared to him to be objectionable. This new Board was to charge itself with the attendance of the pupils in the churches of their various denominations. He could conceive nothing more unseemly—nothing more calculated to obstruct the light making its way in the darkened mind—than such a Board

* From the original MS.

thus setting itself up, and declaring that the children of Catholics should go only to their own place of worship, and that the children of Protestants should go nowhere but to theirs. To the employment of Scripture extracts in school instruction, there could be no general objection; but to a book framed by a mixed Board, and intended to supersede the entire Word of God, he had an insuperable repugnance. His confidence was strong in the efficacy of a Bible circulated with no other seal upon it than the seal of its own inspiration—no other sanction upon it than the high name and authority of heaven; but "let it but undergo a process of distillation through the alembic of a human council or human commission, and, however slightly it may have been changed, it sustains a damage; it comes out to public view in the character of a book moulded by human hands so that priests might approve, instead of standing forth in the character of a book which neither priests nor people dare to meddle with. The original authority is overshadowed by the political or ecclesiastical; and, in place of being listened to as the voice that speaketh from heaven, it is listened to as a voice proceeding from a conclave of fellow-mortals upon earth." His main, however, and capital objection, lay against the exclusion of the Bible from the work of ordinary instruction. A daily Bible class—a class not for half-learned children, but for full and finished readers—a class not compulsory on any, but optional to all, he held to be an integral and indispensable part of all rightly-constituted schools, and that part the Government had unwisely and unrighteously repudiated.* But notwithstanding these objections, he was not prepared to approach the Legislature with a summary condemnation of the measure. Before taking such a step it was his anxious desire that the Pres-

* In our next volume we shall have to inform the reader of what came to be Dr. Chalmers's final and most mature judgment upon this subject.

bytery should not only be decided on the principles of the question, but conversant with all its details, that they should so fully inform themselves, and be so thoroughly prepared, that any remonstrance they might make to Government should be at once worthy of them to offer and of importance for the Government to receive. He moved, therefore, that in the meantime a committee should be appointed to prosecute inquiry. This motion was unanimously agreed to. A committee was appointed, with Dr. Chalmers at its head, which was instructed to use all diligence and to report to the next meeting of Presbytery. Dr. Chalmers lost little time in placing himself in communication with many influential individuals, both among the favourers and opponents of the Government scheme. Two days after the meeting of Presbytery we find the following entry in his Journal:—"Writing many letters as convener of the Irish Education Committee;" and a few days afterwards, "overwhelmed with letters on the subject of Irish schools." Lord Melbourne informed him that he had so far misapprehended the meaning of the regulation as to a register of attendance at church, that it was not intended to oblige the children to attend the churches of their own denomination; but that all difficulty as to this regulation was likely to be removed by its withdrawal. Shortly afterwards the Archbishop of Dublin, as a member of the Board, announced that the measure of registering the attendance of children at the different places of worship was relinquished. Dr. Chalmers had put the following query:—"In the controversy on this question I observe it affirmed on the side of Government, that all Protestant children may have daily reading in the whole Bible if they will, but is not this only if the clergyman, or teacher employed by him other than the regular schoolmaster, be daily at his post, and is not this attendance very precarious?" Lord Melbourne's reply to this query was, "The parents of the children, and

their religious teachers, may make any arrangement they please for the children reading the Bible out of school-hours;" an answer which obviously implied that the Board was not to charge itself in any way with the matter. To the leading Parliamentary opponent of the scheme Dr. Chalmers put this query, "If it were made part of the regular schoolmaster's duty to have a whole Bible class for all advanced scholars who chose to be taught, not out of school-hours, but during some part or other of the regular school diet, would not that satisfy the Protestants?" The answer was, "I can have no hesitation in saying that it would not satisfy the Protestants."* In the Kildare Street Society's schools the daily reading of the Holy Scriptures was authoritatively and universally enforced, no child being allowed the benefit of the other lessons of the school without taking part in this, and nothing short of this would satisfy those whose opinions this member represented. Dr. Chalmers discovered here that form of *ultraism*, in the endeavour to avoid which the Government had but fallen into another. He objected to force being used, whether that force was employed for or against the daily reading of the Bible in the schools. Of that intermediate method which he

* "St. Andrews, *May 10th*, 1825.—My dear Sir,—I like the project of your London friends in regard to Ireland. My attention was at one time directed to the precise question—in the case of the Society for Catholic Schools in Glasgow—where we obtained very favourable terms from the priest, that is, the liberty of making the Bible a school-book. This, however, was obtained with some difficulty; and I remember my distinct feeling then to have been what it is still, that even had the Bible been interdicted it would have been our duty to persevere, and on the principle that a Catholic population with the capacity of reading, are a more hopeful subject than without it.

"The only caution I would suggest to a society formed on such a principle should be, not to hold themselves forth as superseding, but only as supplementing the operations of previous societies. In this way they will provoke less hostility, and do a great deal more good.—I am, my dear Sir, yours most truly,

Thomas Chalmers.

"To Thomas Erskine, Esq.,
of Linlathen."

was disposed to recommend, he found a perfect and very interesting example in those schools which the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland had established in certain districts of the Highlands where a Catholic population prevailed. In these schools a daily Bible class was taught, but the teachers were instructed "not to press on the Catholic children any instruction to which their parents or their priest objected as interfering with the principles of their own religion."* To the schools established upon this principle Roman Catholic children were sent without reluctance, mingling in the same classes with Protestants, without jealousy or distinction, and not unfrequently joining in the exercises of the Bible class.

The effect of that full and special examination to which the Government system was subjected was to enhance rather than extenuate Dr. Chalmers's repugnance to it; and when, on the 26th of April, he came before the Presbytery with the Report of the Committee, which he had drawn up, he prefaced it by saying, "I was bound to make all possible inquiries, and after giving my best attention to the scheme, I am obliged to confess myself more averse to its character, and more fearful of its consequences, than before." In reviewing the most important provisions of the plan that Report observed, "The first of these provisions which the Committee would notice, is that by which in the general and joint education of the scholars, consisting both of Protestants and Catholics, for four or five days in the week the use of the Bible as a school-book is prohibited, and that not because of its literary unfitness for this office, but because of its religious unfitness, in the estimation of the Catholic priesthood, for being employed as a book of juvenile or popular education. The most common, because perhaps the most obvious, objection to this regulation, is the privation of Scriptural instruction to which it subjects the Protestant children; but to the

* From the Report submitted to the General Assembly of 1829.

minds of your Committee, there appears another strong objection against it, and which could not be done away though other days were specified and other methods were pointed out by which the privation might be compensated or made up for to the children of Protestants. The religious unfitness of the Bible for free and general use, whether in schools or through society at large, is, we are aware, the prevalent conception of the Romish priesthood; but should the regulation in question be adopted, the conception will be embodied in British law, and it does appear a signal departure from the spirit of that legislation which has obtained in this country for several generations, if, for the first time, an express restriction be laid on the use of Scripture by the authority of the State. * * * It does not appear to your Committee that a book of Scripture extracts is at all unsuitable for schools, but all depends on the purposes for which such a book may have been formed. It essentially changes the character of such a compilation, when, instead of being given as a *specimen* of the Bible it is given as a substitute for the Bible; or when, instead of certain parts of Scripture being admitted for the literary object of easy reading or of adaptation to the gradual advancement of the learners, certain parts are excluded because of a religious objection by the priests as members of any denomination. It is this surrender of the truth and wisdom of God to the partialities or the prejudices of men which vitiates the transaction. Nor do we escape from the evil however indefinitively near the substance and doctrine the book of extracts may be to the whole Bible. If any part of Scripture, however small, have been given up in deference to a religious antipathy, if any words, however few, have been taken out of this book because they are offensive to the principles or feelings of a particular sect, then, in concession to the demands of that sect, the integrity of Heaven's Record is violated, and the same malign character

adheres to the principle of the compromise, whatever is the material extent, whether great or small, to which it may be carried. * * * The only remaining feature of this scheme to which we would direct the attention of the Presbytery, is that by which the toleration of the Catholics on the part of the Government has advanced towards positive favour. On the days for separate religious instruction the clergy of both denominations are not only permitted, but permitted and *encouraged*, to give religious instruction to the children of their own persuasion. * * * This seems to proceed on the ground that the mere existence of a sect, irrespective of all consideration of its tenets, is in itself a sufficient reason not merely for its being permitted but for its being fostered and patronized. In such a policy of a like treatment of different denominations, however opposed they may be in their pretensions and principles, there is a virtual surrender of the great reason on which a Protestant establishment is upheld either in this or in any other land."

The Report concluded by stating, that if the Presbytery should see fit to approach the Legislature, it was the opinion of the Committee that such approach should be made not in the attitude of opponents—that their petition should be one as much of suggestion as of censure, shewing all due sympathy with those who had taken in hand so arduous a task, and giving all due credit to the pure and patriotic impulses by which they were animated. The Report was unanimously and cordially approved, and a petition to Parliament was forwarded, the chief prayer of which was that a daily Bible class, which it should be optional for the children to attend, should be instituted in each school, and that the use of the book of extracts, and the setting apart of separate days for distinctive religious instruction, should be relinquished. The ample discussion given to this subject in the metropolitan Presbytery was but a

prelude to that awaiting it in the General Assembly of the Church. In the interval between the two discussions the following interchange of letters between Dr. Chalmers and Mr. Stanley took place.

"EDINBURGH, *May 12th*, 1832.

"TO MR. STANLEY.

"SIR,—I take the liberty of writing to you in consequence of a communication I lately had from Mr. Murray on the subject of the Government scheme for the National System of Education in Ireland.

"I am quite certain that much of the opposition to this scheme has had its origin in political bias, but I feel confident that in the Presbytery of Edinburgh it has been in the main a movement of principle. It was brought before us unexpectedly by one of the members of our Court, and we found that we could not blink the question, nor readily acquit ourselves of it, without passing our deliberate opinion on its merits. That opinion has been given without the slightest tincture of a political feeling on the part of a great majority, and is now put forth in a petition, not against the scheme, but on the subject of the scheme.

"We think the Catholics ought to be satisfied by the attendance on the Bible class being made voluntary, and that by this simple regulation all which is due to liberality, and the equitable claims of various denominations, is fully discharged. That the legal and authoritative exclusion of the Bible from school for any number of days in the week should have proved so offensive to the feelings of many Protestants, does not appear to me in the light of a mere sensitive or irrational antipathy, but, instead of this, the retreat of a great principle from a measure that goes to stigmatize the Word of God and subordinate His authority to the authority of men. Yet I am quite sensible that I would need to expand and enforce this considera-

tion at great length, in order to make out to the apprehensions of many, a complete or lengthened vindication of the principle which, apart altogether from politics, actuated strongly and honestly the religious classes of the country in their opposition to the Government scheme. In my opinion, it were wise in legislating on this subject not to restrict the Bible to half an hour, or any specified time whatever, and not to name the Catholics as the party for whose benefit the exemption from attendance was provided. An enactment of great generality would serve the purpose of quieting alarm, and it were prudent that the details of its practical application should be left to the discretion of those concerned in the getting up or management of the school, if it were barely provided that all schools raised, or in any degree upheld by Government, should have a daily Bible class, to be attended by those who were capable of reading, and that unless when parents or natural superiors interposed to prevent that attendance. I would most willingly give up, as uncalled for, and for various reasons inexpedient, the whole apparatus of separate religious instruction for Catholics and Protestants. Permit me to say, that I should hold it the great excellence of such a law that a dispensation from attendance on the Bible class is right, not in concession to the priests, but in concession to the parents—not in deference to a religious prejudice, but in deference to the great natural right, even the right of fathers to have the oversight of the religious education of their families.

"I am abundantly sensible of the existing diversity which there is in the statements of the parties interested on the subject of the numbers among the Catholics who are contented to receive Scriptural education. I have been in the habit, for many years, of attending to the progress of education in Ireland, and I must retain my belief, that however averse the Catholic priests are to this education, the Catholic people

have no such aversion to it, and that, however resisted at the outset, let there only be schools all over the land where daily Scripture lessons may be had, in less than half a generation the habit of repairing to them would become universal. I do think it of mighty importance to commence a system with a right principle, and would infinitely rather a slow progress at first than more rapid progress under a system vitiated with a principle that is radically wrong; and I believe it will be found in this, as in every other instance, that sound principle and sound policy are at one. Looking generally at Europe, it will be found that the civilisation of every people keeps pace with the advancement of Scriptural education; and it does appear like the traversing of the wide historical order, and in opposition to all the lessons of experience, to institute a process for humanizing Ireland, the commencement of which is marked by a limitation on the use of that Book, the free circulation of which may be said to have originated all the light and liberty of our modern day. The one system will rivet the ascendency of Catholic priesthood in Ireland, the other will weaken, and at length destroy it. How desirable this latter consummation is, even in a civil and economical point of view, may be gathered from a comparison between the Protestant and Popish districts of Ireland, and still more abundantly from the relative condition of the people in the Popish and Protestant countries of Switzerland and Germany, and indeed throughout all Europe. On the whole, I should lament if, for the sake of gaining the very doubtful, and I fear short-lived, satisfaction of the Catholics, with aught that you will do for them, you were to act in contravention to that large and magnanimous policy, whose permanent, though perhaps more distant results, are all on the side of social order, and both the moral and economic wellbeing of every people.

"I was examined on this subject by a Committee of the

House of Commons on Irish Poor-laws, in May 1830, and I still adhere to the ideas expressed by me on that occasion.—I have the honour to be, &c. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"IRISH OFFICE, *May 19th*, 1832.

"SIR,—I had the honour a few days ago of receiving your letter of the 12th instant, on the subject of Irish education. You will, I am convinced, find, in the circumstances of the last few days, and in the consequent uncertainty whether the scheme would ever be carried to maturity, a sufficient excuse for my not having returned you an immediate answer. Objections on the ground of principle are at all times difficult to answer, more especially when supported by weight and ability like yours; but the question here appears to me to be, not whether we have selected the best possible abstract system of education, but whether we have selected the best which was applicable to the case, without at the same time violating any principle; and in this view, undoubtedly, there is much which one would assent to for Ireland, the majority being Catholics, which we should object to in England or Scotland, where the great majority are Protestant. Perhaps I might go farther, and say, that in this, as in many other cases, the greatest difficulty arises in legislating for Ireland as a whole, the north and the south being as dissimilar as two separate countries. In this particular subject, therefore, regulations may be called for as applicable to a general system, which might not have been necessary or desirable if confined to Ulster alone. And if I recollect right—for I write without book, if you have the means of referring to a speech of mine in the House of Commons last year, on the Irish estimates, in which I first opened this plan, I pointed out the effect which had been produced by the compulsory reading of the Scriptures under the Kildare Place Society, in limiting the schools to the Protestant pro-

vince, or rather in producing a very great disproportion between that and the other three provinces. The difference, then, between us and the Kildare Place system is, that they required from *all* children of sufficient age, whether Protestant or Catholic, to read some one chapter in the Bible every day, and the consequence was that many Catholic children left the schools as soon as they arrived at the highest, or Bible class. We, on the other hand, *permit* the Bible to be read every day; we *encourage* the reading and study of it on two days; we *require* the reading of selections, on which all agree, on every day in the week. Surely this cannot be called the 'exclusion of the Bible from school for any number of days in the week,' nor 'stigmatizing the Word of God, by subordinating His authority to the authority of men.' The Bible, in one sense, is excluded from all schools during the hours which are devoted to instruction of a different kind; and how very large a proportion in all schools do those hours bear to those in which it is practically admitted, that is, in which the children have the use of it. We say, then, let those hours be *all* the hours at which Roman Catholics are compelled to attend, let those Protestant parents, nay, if you will, let those Catholic parents, who think fit, send their children at earlier or at later hours, when the Bible is known and acknowledged to be read, but do not *compel* Catholic children to be present at a period when neither their natural nor their spiritual guardians can interfere to prevent undue influence being exercised to induce them to join in that of which they disapprove.

"You allow that the religious ordering of their families belongs by a great natural right to fathers. I might say that, in a certain degree, *this* is subordinating 'the authority of God to the authority of man,' for it admits the right of a father to restrict the education of his child in the Word of God. We do not altogether deny the authority of the spiritual pastors of our

Church; but the Catholic carries his doctrine on this head farther, and considers himself bound to submit his opinion on these points more implicitly to theirs. We are legislating, then, for a Catholic country; we are anxious to extend our instructions into that country as widely as possible; we are anxious to give to the Catholic population as much of a Scriptural education as they will receive. By alarming the jealousy of their clergy, we at the same time run counter to their prejudices, and we indispose them to receive any portion of our instructions; on the other hand, by shewing them that we insist on nothing which they avowedly object to, we prevail on them, perhaps, to admit much which they would otherwise have rejected; and I confess that if this be in any degree a compromise, it is one in my mind entirely consistent with principle—with Protestant principle—and with an anxious desire to extend as widely and as fully as possible the knowledge of the Word of God.

"I shall feel myself bound to pay every attention to your petition. I am fully convinced it proceeds from none but honest and religious motives. I rejoice to have an assurance from you, that 'it is a petition not against the scheme, but on the subject of the scheme;' and I am not without hopes that it may be made to appear, though not within the compass even of so extravagant a letter as this, that there is really but a very narrow ground of difference in our practical views of this most important subject.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant, E. G. STANLEY.

"REV. DR. CHALMERS."

The ground of difference between Mr. Stanley and Dr. Chalmers did certainly appear to be narrow. Mr. Stanley was willing that the Protestant children should meet half an hour earlier, or remain half an hour later than the others,

for the purpose of Scriptural instruction. Dr. Chalmers desired that such instruction should be given during the ordinary school-hours, the Catholics to have perfect liberty to join in it or not. In one of those short and pithy forms of expression which he was in the habit of using, Dr. Chalmers characterized the difference as lying in this,—that in the one way of it the Bible was made to skulk from the Catholics, in the other, the Catholics were made to skulk from the Bible. Being in the Moderator's chair, Dr. Chalmers took no part in the debate on the Irish Education Scheme in the ensuing General Assembly. That debate was considerably modified and abbreviated by an announcement from the Solicitor-General, that a communication had been made to him by Mr. Stanley, in which he said that he saw no objection to the institution of a daily Bible class, imperative on the Protestant and optional to the Catholic children. Although a doubt still continued to hang over the meaning of the Chief-Secretary's announcement, the Assembly satisfied itself with petitioning in terms equivalent to those which the Presbytery of Edinburgh had employed.

The Presbyterian Church in Ireland, influenced by the same considerations, assumed at first the same attitude of hostility. But her interest in obtaining such a modification of the defects, as would place within her reach the obvious benefits of the scheme, was much more urgent; and her negotiations for this object were finally successful. At an early stage, if not from the period of their compilation, the use of the Scripture extracts was left optional. At first every school receiving Government aid was bound to adhere strictly to the regulations drawn up by the Board. Latterly, where the school-house has not been built by the Board, which in the north of Ireland is the usual case, the local patrons draw up their own regulations, submit them to the Commissioners, and, if approved of, are bound only by them—central control yielding thus to local authority.

At an interview with the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in the year 1840, a deputation from the Presbyterian Church submitted a model constitution for these schools, which received the sanction of the Government. That constitution contains the following clause:—"The times for reading the Holy Scriptures, and for catechetical instruction, are so arranged as not to interfere with or impede the scientific or secular business of the school; and no child, whose parents or guardians object, is required to be present or take part in these exercises, and no obstruction shall be offered to the children of such parents receiving such instruction elsewhere as they may think proper." For the children of their own and other Protestant communions, the Presbyterian Church has secured all that Dr. Chalmers desired. In their schools the day for separate religious instruction is done away. The Bible is read during the ordinary school-hours; "the extent of its use subject to no control but the will of the parents, expressed through committees of their own free choice, and the greatest convenience of the attending scholars." Subject to the provision that instruction in them be not forced, the Westminster Catechisms are also freely used during the ordinary school-hours. The schools under the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church, enjoying the advantages of the Government bounty, are thus in their constitution and practice identical with those schools in the Highlands under the General Assembly of the Scottish Establishment, to which Dr. Chalmers pointed as a "beautiful and perfect example, unexceptionable in its principles, and most beneficial in its results."

CHAPTER XVIII.

MODERATORSHIP OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY—ABOLITION OF SABBATH BREAKFASTS—DEBATE ON CALLS—ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE ACT OF ASSEMBLY 1834, DENOMINATED THE VETO LAW.

It has already been incidentally mentioned that in the General Assembly of 1832 the honour was conferred on Dr. Chalmers of placing him in the Moderator's Chair. There was one observance which custom had connected with that office to which he looked forward with a painful solicitude. The daily public dinners given by the Royal Commissioner, as well as the daily public breakfasts given by the Moderator, were held on both the Sundays which occurred during the sitting of the Assembly. The Sabbath breakfasts he might by his own authority discontinue, but from attendance at the Sabbath dinners, to which the Moderator was always specially invited, how could he be relieved? Anticipating the perplexity to which he would be exposed, he addressed the following letter to His Majesty's Representative, Lord Belhaven, before the commencement of the Assembly:—

"Edinburgh, *May* 3, 1832.

"My Lord,—On the chance, which I now see to be a likely one, of my becoming Moderator of the next General Assembly, there is one point respecting which I beg to throw myself on the indulgence of your Lordship. I could not without pain be present at the public dinners on the Sundays; and I feel that nothing more is necessary than the bare communication of

this feeling to make your Lordship willing to dispense with my attendance on these occasions. I have made no one else privy to this communication, preferring that the matter should be adjusted by a liberal and understood arrangement between your Lordship and myself, to its becoming the subject of a public discussion. At the same time, let me not disguise my conviction, (and I ask your Lordship to pardon the liberty I take in expressing it,) that it were greatly better if both the dinners were altogether dispensed with. I feel quite assured, my Lord, that did such an arrangement originate with yourself, it would be felt as a strong additional claim to those already possessed by your Lordship on the respect and gratitude of the Church of Scotland.—With many apologies for this intrusion, I have the honour to be, &c. THOMAS CHALMERS.

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD BELHAVEN."

This letter met with the most gracious reception. The personal request was not only at once acceded to, but the general suggestion was willingly adopted. The Sabbath dinners, as well as the Sabbath breakfasts, were then and have since that time been discontinued; and, "I believe I may add," says Lord Belhaven, "that no measure ever gave more universal satisfaction." It is a pleasing mark of distinction and remembrance which attaches thus to Dr. Chalmers's Moderatorship.*

Dr. Chalmers's position as Moderator forbade his taking any active part in the discussions of this Assembly. There was one of its debates to which he must have listened with peculiar interest. So many as eight presbyteries and three synods had sent up overtures to the Supreme Ecclesiastical Court, supplicating the Assembly to devise some means for preventing the

* It was his duty, as president of the Assembly, to open each of its daily meetings with prayer, and to close its annual session with an address. These prayers and a portion of the concluding address, taken from the original MS., will be found in Appendix G.

settlement of unacceptable ministers, and for giving significancy and effect to what had been reduced to a dead form—the call by the people. According to the immemorial usage of the Church of Scotland, the following steps are necessary to be taken in the induction of a clergyman. By a deed of presentation laid upon the table of the Presbytery the patron nominates to the vacant living. In this document he requires the Presbytery "to take trial of the qualifications" of the presentee; "and having found him fit and qualified for the function of the ministry, at the said parish of —— to admit and receive him thereto, and give him his act of ordination and admission in due and competent form." In pursuance of this requirement, the first thing done by the Presbytery is to enjoin the presentee to preach in the vacant church, on one or two appointed Sabbaths, that the people over whom he is to be ordained may have some knowledge and trial of his qualifications. Thereafter a day is fixed, of which due intimation from the pulpit is given to the parishioners, on which the Presbytery assembles in the church of the vacant parish, for the purpose of moderating in, or presiding at the call. At this meeting, after public worship conducted by the member of Presbytery appointed to preside, a paper is presented, the tenor whereof is as follows:—"We, the heritors, elders, heads of families, and parishioners of the parish of ——, within the bounds of the Presbytery of ——, and county of ——, taking into consideration the present destitute state of the said parish, through the want of a Gospel ministry among us, occasioned by the death of our late pastor, and being satisfied with the learning, abilities, and other good qualifications of you, Mr. A. B., and having heard you preach to our satisfaction and edification, do hereby invite and call you, the said Mr. A. B., to take the charge and oversight of this parish, and to come and labour among us in the work of the Gospel ministry, hereby promising to you all due respect and encouragement

in the Lord. We likewise entreat the reverend Presbytery of —— to approve and concur with this our most cordial call, and to use all proper means for making the same effectual, by your ordination and settlement among us, as soon as the steps necessary thereto will admit. In witness whereof, we subscribe these presents," &c. This document the people are invited to subscribe in presence of the Presbytery, and the signatures having been completed, and the Presbytery, sitting in judgment upon the call as now presented to them, having sustained it as sufficient, enter thereafter upon the trial of the literary and theological attainments of the presentee. Having satisfied themselves as to these, they appoint a Sabbath for *serving the edict* as it is termed, or for publicly announcing to the congregation of the vacant parish, the proposed day of ordination; to which announcement the notification is appended, that if any one knows any reason against the admission of the presentee, he is to present himself before the Presbytery and give in the same. On the day fixed for the final and solemn act of ordination, before proceeding to the religious services, the report of the member who served the edict is called for and received, and again by public proclamation of the officer of the Court, the opportunity is offered to any who have objections to the life or doctrine of the presentee to come forward and substantiate them. No such objections having been tendered, after public worship the presentee is required to stand up, and in presence of the congregation, to answer a series of questions, the last of which is as follows:—"Do you accept and close with the call to be pastor of this parish, and promise through grace to perform all the duties of a faithful minister among this people?" After an affirmative reply to this and the preceding queries, in not one of which is any allusion made to the patron or his presentation, the Presbytery, by prayer and the laying on of hands, do solemnly set him apart to the office of the holy ministry.

In following the different stages of this proceeding, it may have struck the reader who is conversant chiefly with the principles and practice of the English Establishment, that according to the mode of admission now described, the title to the benefice is not completed till the spiritual act of admission is performed; that the enjoyment of the benefice is inseparably conjoined with the cure of souls; and that no other ordination to the holy office is recognised than that which establishes a relationship between the minister and his flock, involving the obligation that he shall reside within the bounds of a particular parish, and that he shall personally discharge the duties of the sacred office. Nor will it fail to strike the attentive observer, that the inquiry into the presentee's acceptability to the people, made by means of the call, takes precedence of the trial of his literary and theological qualifications, and that it is upon the invitation given to him by the people that the spiritual act of ordination is grounded. It rests indeed with the Presbytery to determine what amount of popular consent or concurrence should entitle them to proceed with any settlement. For many years after the restoration of patronage by the Act 1712, full effect was given to the popular voice; the cases being numerous in which the nominee of the patron was rejected solely because of the opposition of the congregation; and not a single instance occurring in which the attachment of three or four signatures barely to the call was held to be sufficient. Matters changed, however, as the century advanced. The leading ecclesiastics by whom the decisions of the Supreme Court were guided, were hostile to the admission of the concurrence of the people as an indispensable element in the formation of the pastoral tie. A cold indifference, lapsing in not a few instances into doctrinal latitudinarianism, spread through the ministry, generating a very strong antipathy to that popular taste which, whenever it was permitted to express itself,

gave its testimony so unequivocally in favour of the purity and the warmth by which an evangelical ministry is distinguished. It became, finally, the opinion of the majority in the General Assembly, that effect should be given to the presentation of the patron, with an entire disregard of any opposition, however strong or prevalent among the people. The only apparent use of a call being to ascertain the presentee's acceptability to the people, if no weight whatever was to be given to that element, the natural and becoming step would have been to dispense altogether with this part of the process of admission. But it would have been too violent an invasion of the ancient practice of the Church to venture upon such a step. The Assembly contented itself therefore with establishing by a series of decisions, that any amount of signatures to the call, however small—the attachment to it of a single name—was sufficient. The form of the call was preserved, but all meaning was taken out of it. It marks, however, how strong the hold was which the ancient practice had, that long after the call had been bereft of all real significance, and degraded to an idle ceremonial, the General Assembly of 1782 "did, and hereby do declare, that the moderation of a call in the settlement of ministers, is agreeable to the immemorial and constitutional practice of this Church, and ought to be continued." And this motion was carried not against a counter one that the call should be done away, but against one which, after a declaration "that the moderation of a call is agreeable to the immemorial practice of the Church," proceeded to say, that "not having sufficient evidence laid before them that any Presbyteries had departed so far from established usage as to lay aside the moderation of a call in the settlement of a minister," the Assembly should simply "dismiss these overtures as at this time unnecessary."

That course of ecclesiastical proceeding by which, in the

settlement of ministers, the expression of the popular will was rendered nugatory, was highly offensive to a faithful minority among the clergy who adhered tenaciously to the principles and practice of an earlier and purer period of their Church. It seemed to them to be worse than meaningless to send the presentee to preach—to invite so solemnly the expression of congregational opinion, and then to slight and overbear it. It was, besides, a very flagrant breach of what the acknowledged standards of the Church, and of what various General Assemblies, from the Reformation downwards, had declared to be a fundamental principle of the Church, "that no minister shall be intruded into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation."* Clerical resistance, however, was unavailing. The Supreme Ecclesiastical Court had decided that the will of the people, however expressed, should not be suffered to raise any barrier in the way of the settlement of the minister, and all inferior judicatories must obey its edict. Presbyteries, upon whom the painful duty was laid of ordaining ministers in opposition to the almost unanimous and most resolute resistance of the people, remonstrated, but those remonstrances were unheeded. They asked to be relieved from performing the office of ordination. In some cases the relief was virtually granted by appointing other ministers to discharge the duty

* "The General Assembly, considering, from Act of Assembly, August 6, 1575, Second Book of Discipline, chap. iii. par. 4, 6, 8, registrate in the Assembly books, and appointed to be subscribed by all ministers, and ratified by Acts of Parliament, and likewise by the Act of Assembly 1638, December 17th and 18th, and Assembly 1715, Act 9th, That it is, and has been since the Reformation, the principle of this Church that no minister shall be intruded into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation, do therefore seriously recommend to all judicatories of the Church to have a due regard to the said principle in planting vacant congregations; and that all Presbyteries be at pains to bring about harmony and unanimity in congregations, and to avoid everything that may excite or encourage unreasonable exceptions in people against a worthy person that may be proposed to be their minister, in the present situation and circumstances of the Church, so as none be intruded into such parishes, as they regard the glory of God and edification of the body of Christ."—*Act of Assembly* 1736.

who were not restrained by such scruples. In other cases the relief asked for was peremptorily refused, and those whose consciences were known to be most tender were authoritatively enjoined to be present or to preside at the ordination. For his disobedience to an order of this kind one minister, selected as an example, was deposed, others voluntarily resigned their livings, while many who preferred submission to separation, influenced by the consideration that it was the practice and not the constitution of the Church that was at fault, contented themselves with lifting their earnest protestations against the course the Church had taken.

At first, when the danger threatened them of having unacceptable ministers obtruded on them, the people had appealed to the General Assembly. They soon found that no sympathy was to be met with there, and offended by the manner in which their objections were characterized, or caricatured, they ceased to make any appearance before the Supreme Court. Every other door of relief being closed against them, in a few melancholy instances they were seduced into acts of illegal violence. On the day set apart for the ordination the church-doors were found closed or barricaded, or a mob appeared who would not suffer the Presbytery to proceed with their ungracious work, or the ministers were separately waylaid and borne off, so that when the hour for the public service came, in an empty church the presentee was left in inglorious solitude, without a Presbytery to ordain him. Against such methods of opposition the aid of the civil power was asked and granted, and the unseemly sight was witnessed of Presbyteries going forward to the ordination service guarded by dragoons—of ministers placed in their parishes at the point of the bayonet. More generally, however, resistance when found to be ineffectual was given up, in some cases to sink into sullen compliance, which took soon the form of religious indifference, in others to take advantage

of the law of toleration, and quietly to desert the communion of the Church. In half a century the rise of upwards of two hundred Dissenting chapels, and the withdrawal from the pale of the Establishment of more than one hundred thousand of the population, told what these violent settlements had done.

The present century brought with it a better spirit. The peculiar doctrines of the Gospel met with a larger and heartier acceptance; the ministries of Dr. Thomson in Edinburgh and Dr. Chalmers in Glasgow, doing much for the vindication and propagation of evangelical truth. Fired with the zeal which an earnest reception of these doctrines kindles, a goodly number of the clergy caught the inspiration of the olden times, and longed to have them back again. A fresh interest in the affairs of the Church began to be manifested by pious and influential laymen. The growing minorities in the General Assembly, by which pluralities were condemned, gave token that the days of moderatism were numbered. The question of pluralities, however, did not fairly test the Church, nor bring out into distinct opposition the two leading parties of which it was composed. This was done effectually by the question as to the settlement of ministers. There were a few among the evangelical clergy who, contemplating the great improvement which had taken place in the mode in which patronage was exercised, and fearful of the issues to which the controversy might lead, would have wished that a few years more of peaceful progress should elapse ere the shock of the collision came. But by the overwhelming majority it was felt that there could be no farther delay. They stood committed so soon as even any hope of victory was opened, to take up the old struggle which their forefathers had bequeathed to them. The times at last seemed favourable, and not a few secondary considerations conspired to urge them on.

The late great change in the political state of the nation effected by the extension of the franchise, now led many to put questions like these—were civil rights to be yielded to them, and rights that they prized more dearly to be withheld?—were they to have the free choice of their political, but no part whatever in the appointment of their religious guides?—were abuses in the State, the demand for whose removal was but a cry of yesterday, at all hazards to be done away, and was that abuse, the evil of a high-handed and unchecked Church patronage, the cry for relief from which had been heard through Scotland for more than 200 years, to be utterly disregarded? There was a small band of men who, made hopeful by the spirit thus excited, were for laying the axe at once to the root of the evil, and boldly demanded that patronage should not be regulated, but destroyed. A few years before this time, a society had been formed in Edinburgh under the auspices of Dr. Andrew Thomson, whose object was to purchase the right of presentation, with a view to its after exercise in such a way that the evils of an unlimited patronage might be alleviated. This society altered its character after the passing of the Reform Bill, requiring that patronage should be altogether abolished. Its appeal was so widely responded to, (although chiefly among the laity,) that numerous petitions for the abolition of patronage were presented to Parliament, till Government was induced to appoint a Committee of Inquiry.

Another and more menacing society arose—a society formed in Edinburgh, denominated "The Voluntary Church Association," whose aim was the overthrow of all religious Establishments. Excited by the first enjoyment of the political franchise, and over-estimating perhaps the amount of their political influence, the members of this Society believed that the time had come for striking the decisive blow under which all Church Establishments were to fall. Clear enough and strong enough

was the first note of assault they sounded:—"That a compulsory support of religious institutions,"—so runs the statement of the "Fundamental Principles of the Association,"—"is inconsistent with the nature of religion, the spirit of the Gospel, the express appointment of Jesus Christ, and the civil rights of man; that its tendency, as exhibited by its effects, is to secularize religion, promote hypocrisy, perpetuate error, produce infidelity, destroy the unity and purity of the Church, and disturb the peace and order of civil society." It was an open, honest, and very bold attack. At the first, till the real strength of this party was tested both in the field of debate and in the arena of political agitation, its onset was felt to be alarming, and there was no true friend of the Church of Scotland who did not feel more urged by the danger which appeared to threaten her, to remove every real grievance of which her members might complain.

Early in 1833, a member of the Government having asked Dr. Chalmers's opinion and advice on the topic of patronage, received the following reply:—

"Edinburgh, *26th February*, 1833.

"Dear Sir,—The subject of patronage is greatly too complicated, in the present state of it, for my specifying all at once by what one practical or particular measure it can be fully rectified. I propose making a study of it during the month of April, which I cannot well do at present when fully engaged with the labour of my classes and other preparations. I should deprecate any precipitate leglislation on the subject, and am disposed to regret that the Lord Advocate did not give his consent to a special committee for taking it into consideration.* This is the only practical measure that I would venture to

* One of the grounds on which the Lord Advocate withheld his consent was, that the Call was likely to be made efficient in the approaching General Assembly. As this was not done by the Assembly of 1833, and as the friends of the abolition of patronage continued to urge the matter in Parliament, the Government yielded, and a Committee of Inquiry was appointed on the 27th February 1834.

suggest; and I do think that by this means the Legislature may attain to a solid and comprehensive view of the question in all its bearings, and which would be much facilitated by the testimony of many of our clergymen, who I know are bestowing their anxious thoughts upon the subject. However patronage is to be modified, there is one principle which I think the Church must firmly abide by, and that is its own ultimate power of deciding, (even after a presentation is laid upon the table,) whether, viewing all the circumstances of the case, it is for the Christian good of the population of that parish that that presentation shall be sustained. The concurrence of the ecclesiastical court has been too much lost sight of for half a century as an indispensable element to the validity of every induction. I am sorry that I cannot confidently at present recommend anything more specific; but I have no doubt that difficulties will clear away, as the new lights which earnest and persevering attention generally awakens, shall be made to arise upon the question.—I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES GRANT."

Dr. Chalmers devoted the month of April to the study of the subject, that he might be prepared to take an effective part in the discussions of the approaching General Assembly. In the preceding year eleven inferior courts had urged the topic on the consideration of the Assembly, this year no fewer than forty-two had overtured to the same effect; and could the evangelical party but agree as to a specific measure, there was a strong probability that they should be able to carry it. A few days before the Assembly met, a number of influential clergymen and elders assembled for private deliberation. Dr. Chalmers's suggestion was, that without resorting to its legislative the Church should employ its judicial authority in effecting better and purer

ministerial appointments. It had been by a series of individual decisions that the call had been reduced to a nullity—by a series of opposite decisions let it be restored to significance and effect. With a general intimation given to them that they should pay regard to the great and fundamental principle of Non-intrusion, let it be remitted to Presbyteries to decide what amount of signatures to the call should be required, and by a succession of right decisions by the Supreme Court let a sound and satisfactory precedent be established. Dr. Chalmers's preference for this method was chiefly grounded on the consideration that under it no question as to the legality of the Church's procedure could arise; for if she but retraced her own footsteps—putting forth the same power by which the opposition of the people had been set aside, exercising that power in a precisely similar way although to an opposite result, the competency of her procedure could be open, he thought, to no challenge. His suggestion, however, was not accepted. Its adoption, it was conceived, would protract indefinitely a satisfactory settlement of the question, and leave the Church meanwhile exposed to all the dangers to which the Voluntary agitation on the one hand and the Anti-patronage agitation on the other were exposing her. The decisions as to what constituted a sufficient call might vary. In prosecuting their rights parishes might be exposed to protracted litigation, and even after a precedent such as was anticipated from the improved state of feeling in the Church and country had been established, it would rest upon comparatively precarious ground. It was resolved, therefore, that by some act of legislation, controlling the proceedings of the inferior Courts, the General Assembly should at once establish a uniform practice. Dr. Chalmers's second and more urgent advice was, that concurrently with their own act of legislation they should make immediate application to the Government, so that the civil

sanction might be appended to the Assembly's act. He advised this, not because he had any doubts himself as to the Church's power to legislate, but because such doubts had been expressed by others, and it would be better, he thought, to free the matter at first from all risk and uncertainty. In this instance he deferred to the influential judgment of Lord Moncreiff. That eminent lawyer and devoted friend of the Church of Scotland, deprecated in the strongest terms any application to the Government, or any casting of a question so purely Scottish into the hands of English legislators. Perhaps, also, a consideration of the difficulty to which it might expose the Government of the day should the settlement of such a question be forced upon them, may have had some weight in determining his Lordship's judgment. It was certainly, however, to the urgency of his remonstrance, and to the strength of his assurance that it lay undoubtedly within the legalized functions of the Church to deal with the matter as was proposed, that Dr. Chalmers yielded, although he afterwards regretted that he had done so. There still remained, however, for deliberation, the question as to what specific form the proposed legislation should take. It might either be required, that before a call was sustained the signature of a majority of the parishioners should be attached to it; or, without defining any amount of positive concurrence as necessary, the dissent of the majority might be held as a bar to the settlement, leaving the settlement to be proceeded with in all cases where such dissent did not occur. Of these two methods the second was evidently the milder check on patronage. It was quite possible, that where no such opposition to a presentee existed as should warrant the arrest of his settlement, ignorance or apathy among the people might keep a majority from signing in his favour. But it was not likely, except where a very strong and general repugnance was felt, that a majority should come forward to dis-

sent. It would only be in extreme cases that this would happen, cases in which settlements, if effected, would be in most patent and flagrant violation of the fundamental principle of Non-intrusion. It was resolved, therefore, that the milder measure of a popular veto should be proposed. This step was taken, not in a spirit of hostility to patronage, but the reverse. It was meant to preserve rather than to destroy. The friends and first proposers of the Veto Law did not wish to see patronage done away. They desired, indeed, to see it so limited or restrained that the conscientious convictions of Christian congregations might not be trampled on, but the great majority of them, with Lord Moncreiff, were strenuously opposed to its abolition. It was with some difficulty that the few members of the Church Courts, who at this period were demanding the entire abolition of patronage, were induced to support the measure which the leaders of the evangelical party had adopted. To Dr. Chalmers was committed the responsible office of introducing the measure in the General Assembly of 1833. The first half of his speech on this signal occasion was directed against those members of his own party who cherished what he conceived to be extravagant expectations as to the great spiritual enlargement that would result from certain projected reformations in the external order or practice of the Church—first, or very prominent among which was the total abolition of patronage and the substitution of popular election in its stead.

After some remarks, directed chiefly against the system of popular election, he proceeded,—"I am aware of the theoretical partiality which many of my friends have for the whole system of our ministerial appointments being out and out ecclesiastical, which it would be if, as by the Act of Assembly 1649, the nomination were vested in the Session, and the power of objecting in the people, and the final judgment, where these two

parties were at variance, in the Presbytery. Even the Act of Parliament 1690, by which the nomination is vested, not in the elders alone, but in the elders and heritors, might be accommodated to this theory by the single qualification of heritors being communicants. Whether the same qualification applied to our existing patrons, that they should be in communion with the Church, and so within our own ecclesiastical pale, and under our own ecclesiastical control,—whether this would reconcile them more to the present system of patronage, I do not know. But however much we may differ respecting the initiative, I not only feel inclined to go as far, but would even go farther than the advocates, either for the Act of Parliament 1690, or for the Act of Assembly 1649, respecting the safeguard or the check. The great complaint of our more ancient Assemblies, the great burden of Scottish indignation, the practical grievance which, of all others, has been hitherto felt the most intolerable and galling to the hearts of a free and religious people, is the violent intrusion of ministers upon parishes. An effectual provision against this enormity, this unfeeling outrage, which in the exercise of a reckless and unprincipled patronage has so often been perpetrated in our beloved land, an outrage by the appointment of an ungodly pastor on the rights of conscience and the religious sensibilities of a sorely aggrieved people,—a provision against so deep and so wide a moral injury as this to the families of a parish, I should feel the most valuable of all the legislative expedients or devices which could be proposed on the present occasion, and would welcome it all the more cordially if we had not to go in quest of it without the limits of our actual ecclesiastical constitution, or, in other words, if instead of enacting a new law we had but to declare our interpretation of an old one. Now the law of Calls places such a facility in our hands; and, as I feel I must not take up the time of the Assembly, let me state at once, and without

farther preamble, my own preference as to the best way of restoring significancy and effect to this now antiquated, but still venerable form,—and this is by holding the call a solid one which lies, not in the expressed consent of the few, and these often the mere driblet of a parish; but larger than this, which lies in the virtual or implied consent of the majority, and to be gathered from their non-resistance or their silence. In other words, I would have it that the majority of dissentient voices should lay a veto on every presentation.

"In this power of a negative on the part of the people there is nothing new in the constitution or practice of the Church of Scotland. It is the great barrier, in fact, set up by the wisdom of our forefathers against the intrusion of ministers into parishes. It could make no appearance in the First Book of Discipline 1560, where it was provided that the people should have the initiative, or that the ministers should be appointed, not with their consent, but by their election. But after the probation of eighteen years, we have the Second Book of Discipline 1578, where the election is made to proceed by the judgment of the eldership and with the consent of the congregation, and care is expressed that 'no person be intrusit contrar to the will of the congregation or without the voice of the eldership.' This interdict by the people is farther recognised and ratified in the Act of Assembly 1649, and of Parliament 1690. It is, in fact, the appropriate, the counterpart remedy against the evil of intrusion. If we hear little of the application or actual exercise of this remedy during the times it was in force, it was because of a great excellence, even that pacific property which belongs to it of acting by a preventive operation. The initial step was so taken by the one party as to anticipate the gainsayers in the other. The goodness of the first appointment was, in the vast majority of instances, so unquestionable as to pass unquestioned; and so this provision, by its

reflex influence, did then what it would do still,—it put an end to the trade of agitation. Those village demagogues, the spokesmen and oracles of a parish, whose voice is fain for war, that, in the heat and hubbub of a parochial effervescence, they might stir up the element they love to breathe in, disappointed of their favourite game by a nomination which compelled the general homage, had to sheathe their swords for lack of argument. It was like the beautiful operation of those balancing and antagonist forces in nature which act by pressure and not by collision, and by means of an energy that is mighty, but noiseless, maintain the quiescence and stability of our physical system. And it is well when the action and reaction of these moral forces can be brought to bear with the same conservative effect on each other in the world of mind, whether it be in the great world of the state, or in the little world of a parish. And the truth, the historical truth, in spite of all the disturbance and distemper which are associated with the movements of the populace, is, that turbulence and disorder were then only let loose upon the land, when this check of the popular will was removed from the place it had in our ecclesiastical constitution, and where it was inserted so skilfully by the wisdom of our fathers, that, instead of acting by conflict, or as a conflicting element, it served as an equipoise. It was when a high-handed patronage reigned uncontrolled and without a rival, that discord and dissent multiplied in our parishes. The seasons immediately succeeding to 1649 and 1690, when the power of negation was lodged with the people, not, however, as a force in exercise, but as a force in reserve,—these were the days of our Church's greatest prosperity and glory, the seasons both of peace and of righteousness. Persecution put an end to the one period, and unrestricted patronage put an end to the other.

"But the last element in the composition of this affair, and to

which I have scarcely yet adverted, is the power of the Church. For let the ancient privilege of a negation be again given to the people, and there will come to be a tripartite operation ere a minister shall be fully admitted into a parish—not a business, however unmanageably complex on that account, else whence the rapid, and smooth, and practicable working of the British Legislature? And here the question at once occurs, whether shall the objection taken to the presentee by the majority of the people be submitted for review to the Presbytery, as by the Acts of 1649 and 1690, or shall it be held conclusive so as without judgment by us to set aside the presentation? My preference is for the latter, and I think that I can allege this valid reason for it. The people may not be able to state their objection save in a very general way, and far less be able to plead and to vindicate it at the bar of a Presbytery, and yet the objection be a most substantial one notwithstanding, and such as ought, both in all Christian reason and Christian expediency, to set aside the presentation. I will not speak of the moral barrier that is created to the usefulness of a minister by the mere general dislike of a people—for this, though strong at the outset, may, being literally a prejudice or a groundless judgment beforehand, give way to the experience of his worth and the kindness of his intercourse amongst them. But there is another dislike than to the person of a minister,—a dislike to his preaching, which may not be groundless, even though the people be wholly incapable of themselves arguing or justifying the grounds of it—just as one may have a perfectly good understanding of words, and yet, when put to his definitions, not be at all able to explain the meaning of them. This holds pre-eminently of the Gospel of Jesus Christ manifesting its own truth to the consciences of men, who yet would be utterly nonplussed and at fault, did you ask them to give an account or reason for their convictions. Such is the adaptation of

Scripture to the state of humanity—an adaptation which thousands might feel, though not one in the whole multitude should be able to analyze it. When under the visitations of moral earnestness, when once brought to entertain the question of his interest with God, and conscience tells of his yet uncancelled guilt and his yet unprovided eternity—even the most illiterate of a parish might, when thus awakened, not only feel most strongly, but perceive most intelligently and soundly, the adjustment which obtains between the overtures of the New Testament and the necessities of his own nature. And yet, with a conviction thus based on the doctrines of Scripture and the depositions of his own consciousness, he, while fully competent to discern the truth, may be as incompetent as a child to dispute or to argument it; and when required to give the reasons of his objection to a minister at the bar of his Presbytery, all the poor man can say for himself might be, that he does not preach the Gospel, or that in his sermon there is no food for his soul. It were denying the adaptation of Christianity to human nature, to deny that this is a case which may be often and legitimately realized. With a perfect independence on the conceits and the follies, and the wayward extravagance or humours of the populace, I have, nevertheless, the profoundest respect for all those manifestations of the popular feeling which are founded on an accordancy between the felt state of human nature and the subject-matter of the Gospel. But in very proportion to my sympathy and my depth of veneration for the Christian appetency of such cottage patriarchs, would be the painfulness I should feel when the cross-questionings of a court of review were brought to bear upon them; and the men, bamboozled and bereft of utterance by the reasonings which they could not redargue, or, perhaps, the ridicule which they could not withstand, were left to the untold agony of their own hearts—because within the

Establishment which they loved, they could not find, in its Sabbath ministrations or week-day services, the doctrine which was dear to them. To overbear such men is the highway to put an extinguisher on the Christianity of our land,—the Christianity of our ploughmen, our artisans, our men of handicraft and of hard labour; yet not the Christianity theirs of deceitful imagination, or of implicit deference to authority, but the Christianity of deep, I will add, of rational belief, firmly and profoundly seated in the principles of our moral nature, and nobly accredited by the virtues of our well-conditioned peasantry. In the olden time of Presbytery—that time of scriptural Christianity in our pulpits, and of psalmody in all our cottages—these men grew and multiplied in the land; and though derided in the heartless literature, and discountenanced or disowned in the heartless politics of other days, it is their remnant which acts as a preserving salt among our people, and which constitutes the real strength and glory of the Scottish nation."*

Dr. Chalmers concluded by moving that the dissent of a majority, with or without the assignment of reasons, should be of conclusive effect in setting aside the nomination of the patron, save when it was clearly established that this dissent was founded on corrupt and malicious combination. In the Assembly of 1833 this motion was lost; a majority of twelve having voted against it. The intervening twelvemonth having given full opportunity for renewed deliberation in the Assembly of 1834, of which Dr. Chalmers was not a member, it was reintroduced by Lord Moncreiff, and carried by a majority of forty-six. Moulded into the form of an "Overture and Interim Act on Calls," Lord Moncreiff's motion was expressed in the following terms:—"*Edinburgh, May* 31, 1834.—The General Assembly declare, That it is a fundamental law of the Church, that no

* See *Works*, vol. xii. pp. 375-394.

pastor shall be intruded into any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and in order that the principle may be carried into full effect, the General Assembly, with the consent of a majority of the Presbyteries of this Church, do declare, enact, and ordain, that it shall be an instruction to Presbyteries that if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the Church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the Presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned; but that if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the Presbytery shall proceed with the settlement according to the rules of the Church: And farther declare, that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare in presence of the Presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or the congregation."

Such was the Veto Law. Intended as a final and pacifying measure, it was proposed after the maturest deliberation. After a year's interval, in the course of which it was subjected to the severest scrutiny, it came before the General Assembly of 1834, approved by the most eminent legal advice, and sanctioned by the authority of the legal and political advisers of the Crown in Scotland. It was carried, before any of the chapel-ministers had been introduced into the Church Courts, by a clear majority of all the different constituencies of which the General Assembly is composed; and two months after its passage, it had this judgment pronounced upon it in

the House of Lords, from the lips of Lord Brougham,* at that time Lord Chancellor of England:

"My Lords, I hold in my hand a great number of petitions from a most respectable portion of His Majesty's subjects in the northern parts of this island, all referring to one subject,—I mean Church patronage in Scotland, which has greatly and powerfully interested the people of Scotland for many months past, and respecting the expediency of some change in which there is hardly any difference of opinion among them. The late proceedings in the General Assembly, (viz., in passing the Veto Law,) have done more to facilitate the adoption of measures which shall set that important question at rest, upon a footing advantageous to the community, and that shall be safe and beneficial to the Establishment, and in every respect desirable, than any other course that could have been taken; for it would have been premature if the Legislature had adopted any measure without the acquiescence of that important body, as no good could have resulted from it. I am glad that the wisdom of the General Assembly has been devoted to this subject, and that the result of its deliberations has been these important resolutions (namely, the Veto Act) which were passed at the last meeting."

* Dr. Chalmers had been credibly informed, and always believed, that at an early stage, and before its passage through the General Assembly, the Veto Law had been submitted to Lord Brougham, and received the imprimatur of his approval.

CHAPTER XIX.

A TWO MONTHS' TOUR—THE CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND—THE CAVES OF DERBYSHIRE—MEETING OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION AT CAMBRIDGE—CANTERBURY AND CHICHESTER—EARLHAM—THE FEN COUNTRY—PETERBOROUGH AND ELY CATHEDRALS—THE BORDER LINE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

Some rest and refreshment was required after four years of incessant literary and professorial toil, during which an entire course of Theological Lectures, his work on Political Economy, and his Bridgewater Treatise, had been composed. Dr. Chalmers found the rest and refreshment most congenial to him in a two months' tour, one main object of which was to gratify an ambition he long had cherished, and lived to realize, of having seen and ascended to the summit of all the cathedrals of England. Thirty large folio journal letters, directed to each of his daughters in succession, contain the record of this tour. Omitting the earlier portion of this record, let us ask the reader to join Dr. Chalmers, as after a pleasant visit to his friend Dr. Duncan at Ruthwell Manse, he broke what was to him new ground at Kendal.

"*Tuesday*, 18*th June* 1833.—I took out my place from Kendal to Bradford, and the scenes which most particularly struck me were, 1*st*, a vale behind a barren rocky hill, after leaving the Liverpool road; 2*d*, the mountain prospects which open upon us in scaling the barrier to Kirkby Lonsdale; 3*d*, Kirkby Lonsdale itself, with the house of Carus Wilson on the

banks of the Lune; 4*th*, the view of majestic Ingleborough, the monarch of this Alpine region, looking down on the numerous secondaries around him; 5*th*, and, most glorious of all, the rock scenery on the stage to Settle, the rocky crescent on our approach to this town being the finest spectacle of the kind I saw. I know not how the superb town of Giggleswick should have been so named, for surely there is nothing in superb magnificence that is fitted to set one a giggling. The rock overhanging Settle is a noble individual object, and altogether this town, with its environs, forms one of the most memorable to me of all English panoramas. 6*th*, The knolls and ever-recurring straths of that extended pastoral scenery which overspreads the whole West Riding of Yorkshire, and where, though the mountains are without dignity and the vales remarkable for nothing so much as their rich pasturage, yet, altogether, the extent and endless succession as one horizon and one panorama give place to another, impress one very powerfully with the amplitude and exuberance of Nature. Dined at Skipton. Found a fair at Bradford, where I alighted, and was somewhat annoyed in my transition to the coach for Halifax. I had first to get a porter to carry my luggage through the crowds to a distant part of the town from which that coach started, then was told that the coach had not come in, and I could not get a place till it arrived; then had not a hole to put my head in, as every room swarmed with drinking and drunken market people; then, as I did not like to be far away from my luggage in an open and crowded coach-office, had to keep my station near the door, where, as fortune would have it, there was a large circular assemblage of swine, on the margin of which I stood and contemplated their habitudes and politics, for I could perceive an action and reaction, a competition for food, a play of emotions reciprocating from the one to the other, of which emotions, however, anger is far the most

conspicuous, prompting to a bite or a scart, and even an occasional engagement. Speaking of politics, you have heard me say that a man of refinement and education won't travel through England on the tops of coaches without becoming a Tory. My Toryism has been further confirmed this day. There was a Quakeress girl, with a still younger companion, travelling from their boarding-school home, and this was all well enough; but there were also the feeders and wool-staplers of the West Riding, fat and unintelligent, with only pursy and vesicular projections on each side of their chins, and a superabundance of lard in their gills, whose manners well-nigh overset me, overloading our coach with their enormous carcases, and squeezing themselves, as they ascended from various parts of the road, between passengers already in a state of compression, to the gross infraction of all law and justice, and the imminent danger of our necks. The days were when I would have put down all this; but whether, from the love of peace, which grows with age, or perhaps from some remainder of the enfeebling influenza, which, however, is getting better, my quiescence predominated.

"My next to Eliza. I am now at Huddersfield, and have heard from Mr. Fox, who expects me shortly at Derby. Kindest regards to mamma and all the sisterhood; and, with my earnest wishes for you all, and more especially that your souls may prosper, I am, my dearest Anne, yours most truly,

"To Miss Anne J. Chalmers." THOMAS CHALMERS.

"*Huddersfield, June 19th*, 1833.—My dear Eliza,—I have to premise that my journal left off at the point of time when I was standing on the confines of a large conglomeration of squeaking pigs, from which situation, however, I was at length called away by the arrival of the Halifax coach. Having had enough of swinish society for the day, both on the street of Bradford

town and on the top of Kendal coach, I took an inside berth, and got quietly and comfortably, with a decent lady and gentleman as my only companions, to Halifax, six miles from Bradford, between six and seven o'clock. It is a wretched country along the greater part of this stage, which is by a new road. But on the approach to Halifax, you have the deep excavations and lofty swells of a verdant landscape, studded with hamlets, and diversified with very agreeable varieties of broken surfaces. The stage from Halifax to Huddersfield of eight miles, is much of the same character. I was so extravagant as to traverse it in a post-chaise, there being no other conveyance, after having rambled a little among the streets of Halifax. On entering Huddersfield I found that in respect of fairs, I was out of the frying-pan into the fire; for before my inn door, the George, there was a prodigious assemblage of people at a market; and I had to wait some time ere I could get a room for the evening. The crowd was vastly augmented by there being furthermore a political meeting in the open air, and the whole of the spacious market-place was filled with the multitude. Mr. Oastler held forth on the sufferings of the factory children, and was enthusiastically cheered. I saw from my window, but heard not. Then followed, to me an original scene, the burning of the Factory Commissioners, and Captain Fenton, one of their obnoxious members of Parliament, and another unpopular master-manufacturer, in effigy. The figures were fearfully like men; and it being now dark, the conflagration lighted up the whole square, and revealed the faces of the yelling myriads, so as to give the aspect and character of Pandemonium to the scene. The burning figures were tossed ferociously in the air; and to renew their combustion were dashed into a bonfire from time to time. The spectacle I am sure is a depraving one, and fitted to prepare the actors for burning the originals instead of the copies.

"Before I resume my narrative, I may say by way of qualifying my observations on Toryism, that though I hold a strong while virtuous government, and under the direction of the higher intelligence of our best educated men, to be the best regime for a country, yet I feel it wrong to nourish contempt for any human being: 'Honour all men' is the precept of Scripture. We should not despise any of those for whom Christ died; and the tendency so to do is one of those temptations to which refinement and knowledge are apt to expose us, and which ought to be resisted.

"*Wednesday.*—Rose at eight. Took a gig at Huddersfield for the day, and went through the heart of a country unvisited by coaches, among the heights of Cheshire and Derbyshire, and over what is called the Backbone of England, the water running on opposite sides of it to the east and west coasts of the island. Had to make long walks up the steeper ascents for the relief of my horse; and a good many drizzling showers fell in the course of this day's journey. I was on the whole, however, very comfortable, with a man at my side driving me who seems very civil, and my books of which I read plentifully—in particular, Mede's Latin work on Prophecy. My geographical taste was much gratified, in spite of the frequent coarseness and deformity of a scene consisting of great protuberances of black moss rising to the elevation of mountains, but alternated at times with fresh and deep valleys. We journeyed thirty-five miles to Castleton in Derbyshire, near which are many mineral curiosities.

"*Thursday.*—This has been a day of marvels! Rose after six. Went first to the Peak Cavern, close to the village of Castleton. It is entered by a most magnificent archway, at the farther end of a chasm flanked with lofty precipitous walls, and then forms into a noble alcove, surmounted by a most majestic natural canopy of rock, and at length narrowing into

an aperture small enough to be furnished with a gate which the guide keeps under lock and key. Here each visitor is furnished with a lighted candle; and as the guide devolved his task upon his two sons, and I treated my gig-driver to the spectacle, we had four lights to illuminate our path. We had often to stoop and almost crawl, from the lowness of the roof, though the greater part of our way, consisting of nearly half a mile, we could walk upright; and the roof often ascended and the sides widened so as to form magnificent halls, and at one place in particular, which branches off near the end of this mighty excavation, the roof rises so high as to elude every expedient for the observation of it. For instance, there is a ladder which rises about thirty feet, which the guide ascends, and on the top of it he places a blue or green light, which he sets fire to, and which lasts several minutes, sending forth its lurid gleams far and wide through the cavern, yet the roof at this place is lost in the distance. The exhibition was made to us, and it is a very glorious one. I should have mentioned that long before we came thus far, our progress was interrupted by a subterranean lake of water named *Styx*, over which we were ferried in a boat kept there for the purpose. Also, that about half way, there is a recess in the side of the cavern high above our pathway, named the *chancel*, and where when the party is large enough, a band of musicians is stationed, who from the impalpable darkness above cause their mysterious music to break upon the ear of the awe-struck listeners. The guide told me that he had not brought them to-day, for as each of them (and they vary in number from four to fourteen) must have half-a-crown, he thought it too expensive for one person. I know your mamma will think this guide a very sensible man; but I confess your papa to have been so enthusiastic as almost to regret the want of these musicians, who with clarionet, flute, hautboy, and bugle-horn,

would have made the rocky welkin ring and re-echo to their melodies, even in spite of the ten shillings that the four would have cost me. To make up for this in some measure I got what you would not have consented to, a blast—that is, a gunpowder explosion beneath a piece of rock, and by which miners detach what they want from the main precipice. We stood in a situation of safety, while a discharge was made like the report of loudest artillery, the echoes of which were flung back again from all parts of the cavern, and at length died away in a deep hollow moaning apparently from the mouth. I told the guide that when I came back with my daughters, I would dispense with the blast, (unless they, thunder-haters as they are, should choose it,) and give them the music in place. And with this compromise we parted in great good humour.

"Tell mamma that what I had meant was an ordinary letter to her occasionally, between the folio sheets of the journal, but so as not to exceed three transmissions in the week. So long, however, as the materials for filling up my folios are so superabundant, this part of the plan must be kept in abeyance; and, meanwhile, let all the letters though differently addressed be formed into a joint property, and placed in one common deposit.—With God's best blessing on all, I am, my dear Eliza, yours most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Matlock, June 22d*, 1833.—MY DEAR GRACE,—My last letter closed with the account of the Peak Cavern, and at the termination thereof you will find me standing in its mouth, and taking my last look of its noble gateway. Proceeded thence towards the inn to breakfast. After breakfast ordered the gig, and was carried to the Bagshaw Cavern, recently discovered, and full of crystallized minerals, stretching along the walls or depending in icicles from the roof. The exploration of it is very fatiguing; first, the descent of 126 steps under the earth; second, a pas-

sage often narrow and requiring a very low stoop; third, steps and scrambles to the lateral cavities that we met with on our way. This is perhaps the greatest natural curiosity in Derbyshire, though more of a scientific than spectacular character; and this, combined with its difficulty of access and distance from the inn, causes it to be less frequented. The poor man who shows it is evidently a man of talent and humour—has seen better days, and wrote an account of his cave which is now all sold off. He tells me that it was an elaborate work, and written with more humour than was ever brought into play before on any subterranean subject, and that it has gained him a great reputation. He begged me to speak in favour of his cavern, which was too little visited. Its great peculiarity is, that out and out it is completely natural, not a tool being lifted within it, save in the construction of its descending steps. In one place the passage widens into a chamber called Paradise, all in a sparkle with large and beautiful crystals, then contracts again, and winds laterally and by a scrambling ascent into another chamber, at least equal to the former and more lofty, called Calypso's Cave, then terminates in a third, which, though it receives no name, is nearly as good as the two former. Walked our fatiguing way back again, and welcomed the light of day. We had three candles, each of us holding one. I should have mentioned that I had to put on another coat and hat at the guide's house; and a worse coat or worse hat I never saw on the back or head of any carter or scavenger in the land, insomuch that I was a spectacle to the children of the village, who shouted and laughed behind me; and even the driver of my gig, though a grave, silent, and simple lad of twenty-two, could not restrain his merriment. By the way, though it is a little more expensive, I always take him to the sights along with me; first, because I found a great ignorance of Derbyshire curiosi-

ties in Huddersfield, and I want to make him more enlightened and enlarged than his fellow-citizens; second, because I always feel a strong reflex or secondary enjoyment in the gratifications of other people, so that the sympathy of his enjoyment greatly enhances my own; and, thirdly, because I get amusement from the remarks of his simple wonderment and not very sagacious observation; and it has now passed into a standing joke with me, when leaving any of our exhibitions, that 'there is no such fine sight to be seen at Huddersfield.' Drove back to the inn at Castleton, where, after a short excursion to the castle immediately above the Peak Cavern, (and which, by the way, belonging of old to the Knights of Peveril, gave birth to Sir Walter's novel of 'Peveril of the Peak,') I dined about three. After dinner, I walked with my companion of the gig to Speedwell Mine, a very noble curiosity, where, after a descent into the bowels of the earth of 106 steps, we entered a boat which carried us along a subterranean canal of nearly a mile, one half of which only is described by us. We have a regular archway over our heads, cut out for the convenience of the miners, and which still remains though the work is abandoned. The two boatmen propel us by pushing with their hands against the sides of the tunnel. They placed some candles along the tunnel on each side near the entrance, and which were seen by us all the way, and with their reflection in the water had a very pretty and pleasing effect,—at the distance of nearly half a mile they shrunk into the appearance of distant stars. But how shall I describe the scene at the termination of our voyage?—a scene to the description of which I fear that even your pen would be inadequate, yea, even in its sublimest mood, when set to an exercise in composition that shall bear off the palm of victory from all your class-fellows. The canal is crossed about half way by a mighty chasm which reaches to an unknown height above us, and an unknown depth beneath us. An arch has

been thrown over it on which we alight at the termination of the first half of the canal, and might, if we so chose, pass on to the second half, and be carried forward in a boat another quarter of a mile. But as it is just the same with the last quarter of a mile, we therefore go no farther than to this arch, guarded by a strong iron railing to keep us from being precipitated into the mysterious abyss below. Here we stood; and as we were under a hill many hundred feet high, there was room for an altitude above our heads of invisible termination, while the termination of the horrible pit beneath our feet was alike invisible. Down this tremendous chasm there thundered a roaring water-fall; and we were furnished with blue lights that we might be enabled to trace its way as far as possible. The man ascended a ladder along the side of the cataract, and placed a gunpowder preparation on one of the crannies, which blazed and sparkled and shot up gleams of illumination for several minutes, which left unrevealed, however, the roof that was over us. And then more fearfully glorious still, he descended a ladder and placed another light beneath us, and by the side of the foaming cataract, which shed momentary radiance far and wide and deep among the Plutonic recesses of this scene of wonders, but left the secret of its bottom untold. I never took in so powerful an impression by the eye from any spectacle as from this last one, though the one above us too was particularly fine. Sky-rockets have been thrown up without reaching the roof, or bringing it within the observation of human eyes. We returned from this impressive scene in the boat, and by the way put fire to a blast which had been prepared for our entertainment, when, after passing it for a few minutes, it whizzed and exploded with a noise which made the vaulted tunnel to ring and reverberate all over. And could I describe the effect with the eloquence, or in the terms of a boarding-school Miss, I would say that such a

roar of cannonading never bellowed or bounded so majestically on the auditory organs of awe-struck and astonished hearers. When we made our egress up the steps and again returned to the light of day, I made my gig-driver acknowledge, and I am sure with perfect sincerity, that 'no such thing is to be seen or heard at Huddersfield.' Returned to the inn at Castleton. Took our gig there and drove on to Bakewell, fourteen miles distant, over a fine upland country, but which at length on our approach to Bakewell, on the banks of the Wye, assumed another character, and presented a very fine specimen of English comfort and beauty. Got at Bakewell into a spacious, elegant, but withal most civil and comfortable inn, under the sign of the Rutland Arms, a little after eight. Was ushered into a very snug sitting room, with a bedroom immediately off it, and went to my needful repose between ten and eleven.—I am, my dear Grace, yours most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Derby, June 24th*, 1833.—MY DEAR MARGARET,—If you cannot read my letter easily, get mamma to read it for you.

"*Friday*, 21*st*.—Rose at eight; had a most comfortable breakfast at Bakewell, with a pleasing village ramble before among its neat houses and picturesque foliage. After breakfast looked into a good sermon-book, very properly lying in the room, and was pleased to find it pervaded with the true and precious savour of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Had a few minutes of genial conversation with the landlady—who has recently lost her husband—Mrs. Greaves, a fine specimen of an old English gentlewoman. Left this place at ten in our gig: the road went through a succession of verdant fields and along the beautiful river Wye, abundantly fringed with trees of massive foliage—that sort of scenery which I have great love for, intermediate between the mountainous and the champaign—undulating into moderate elevations, waving with luxuriance

to their very summits, and affording shelter to many sweet recesses, where cottages lie deeply embosomed, each in its own little plantation. At two miles from Bakewell crossed the Wye to Haddon, an old family seat of the Dukes of Rutland, but now deserted, though still kept up as the most perfect specimen in all England of those old baronial castles which attest the magnificence and hospitality of the feudal times. Rambled with great delight among its venerable halls; its chapel and turret-rooms still partially adorned with painted glass windows and faded tapestry of noble ladies' workmanship, and stately furniture of curious and manifold device, among which I gave the homage of my chiefest admiration to the massive arm-chairs, of amplitude enough for the capacious hoops and lofty head-dresses of the great-grandmother duchesses of other days. I reached the summit of the highest tower in company with my faithful Achates, the gig-driver, whom I made to confess, as he surveyed the courts and the terraced gardens below, that 'there was no such place in all Huddersfield.' Tell Eliza, that lover of puns, that after our visit to *Hadd-on* Hall we had to *hadd-on* to Chatsworth Hall, the magnificent seat of the Duke of Devonshire: there is one thing, however, which takes off from the character of magnificence, and that is the newness of a great part of its architecture, besides its being Grecian. It does not impress the imagination with baronial grandeur half so much as Haddon Hall does; and then its grounds, though partaking in that general character of ornate and beautiful scenery which belongs to the whole of this region, have nothing very wondrous or enchanting to recommend them; moreover, there was still a building operation going on, and the new carpentry which this gave rise to was not altogether in keeping with the nobleness of certainly one of the most distinguished of our great aristocratic mansions. A princely succession of rooms, with painted

roofs and walls, first-rate pictures, tapestry, gilded and gorgeous furniture, coronation arm-chairs, gigantic mirrors, windows consisting of one pane of glass seven feet by four, busts and statues innumerable, rich carpets, a spacious and well-stocked library, a suite of brilliant state-rooms, beds which you could not ascend without a ladder, surmounted by crimson canopies, hundreds of bedrooms which we did not enter, corridors and staircases of amazing amplitude, &c., &c., through all which I was conducted by a female servant, and for which I gave her five shillings, having previously given two shillings and sixpence to the porter for passing me through the courts and entering me into the ducal palace. I was then put into the hands of the gardener, who showed a part of the domain. The thing which you would have liked best to see was the waterworks, kept in play by a fountain over which a temple was erected, and on the summits of which were placed a number of water gods, and lions and dolphins, and a variety both of land and sea animals, all in stone. On opening a pipe the water rushed in torrents from their mouths, besides rising to a great height in volumes of foam from the middle of a pool, and so great was the quantity that it rushed in mighty overflow down a broad channel, descending by steps to a lower part of the grounds, and at length terminating in a subterranean duct, by which it was carried under the ground. Near this is an artificial tree, which, on the opening of a stop-cock, sends out from the ends of all its branches thin jets of water, and which amused the little Princess Victoria so much, that when asked, on her visiting Chatsworth some months ago, which of all the things she had seen she liked best, she said it was the squirting tree. We had, besides this, two magnificent waterjets thrown open for us, one sixty, another at least a hundred feet high. From this I ascended to the top of a high tower, which the servants told me visitors never went to, and that I

would find it locked. I nevertheless walked to the foot of it, and it so happened that an old man was there feeding peacocks, and had it open at the time. He allowed me to go to the top of it, and I got one of the best views which the country affords, besides having a great deal of jocular talk with the peacock-feeder, to whom I gave a shilling for his civility. And you may tell Eliza that I found this man the best *worth chatting with* of any person in and about all *Chats-worth*. On descending from the tower and the high ground it stood upon, I re-entered my gig, which two little boys kept for me at the stables, and I got further leave from the servants to drive a good deal more through the grounds than is commonly allowed to visitors. The following circumstance will perhaps explain this deference of theirs to my wishes. I took my gig-driver with me through the whole exhibition, nor was any objection made to show him everything, even the finest rooms, going with me everywhere. I gave him my hat and silver-headed stick to carry, and he kept behind at a most respectful distance, while I walked before with a book in my hand, which I consulted, and in which I jotted down all the remarkables that I saw. There were several numerous and highly elegant parties that were seeing the house at the same time; and I learned afterwards, from a gentleman belonging to one of them, to whom I was introduced at Derby, that my appearance, which I have no doubt, in conjunction with that of my Huddersfield post-boy, was sufficiently picturesque, had excited a great deal of speculation, and that the conclusion which one and all of them came to was that M. P. Chalmers's papa was a foreign nobleman. Left Chatsworth about three; and my companion, the Knight of the Whip, confessed, as we drove off from the grounds, that there was 'no such sight to be seen in all Huddersfield.' Drove through a highly ornamented series of landscapes along the Derwent to Matlock: when we got to Matlock Bridge the

scenery became quite exquisite, from the mixture of rock and verdure on the east bank of the river, a composition which has always a peculiarly agreeable effect on my vision; it forms a beautiful rather than a sublime range of intermingled wood and rocky precipice for two miles. My gig-driver could not refrain the expression of his honest enthusiasm, and the fissures and cavities of the rocks particularly attracted him. 'Why,' says he, 'what great rents between them rocks there—a man could almost creep under some of them!' and so out with other sayings, which were summed up and reduced to the oft repeated generality, which I again and for once more extorted from him, that 'no such fine things were to be seen at Huddersfield.' We reached Matlock at six, and here I parted with my honest and simple-hearted driver, having previously, and just before, ascertained from him his name. It is John Dean. He can scarcely read, he tells me, and on this subject I gave him my solemn advice, telling him, even as I now tell you, that many perish for lack of knowledge, and that he must prepare himself for an acquaintance with that precious Bible which is able to make him wise unto salvation, through the faith that is in Christ Jesus. A person who has given you three days' service, and from whom you have extracted three days' amusement, has earned no slight claim to your permanent regard, and I desire to treasure up and cherish, as one of the interesting reminiscences of my life, the idea of John Dean of Huddersfield.

"*June 26th.*—I am now comfortable in London.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*London, 26th June,* 1833.—MY DEAR HELEN,—My last letter landed me in Matlock. I had previously learned that Mr. Adam, a dealer in its mineral curiosities, and residing in this place, was a Scotchman. To him I went, introduced myself, and received most essential and cordial civilities from

him. He procured me a guide for the three caves above and behind the town, all of which I visited in two hours, beside the romantic rocks broken off and tumbled about in strange confusion. The caves are quite worthy of a visit; and I hold their rude colonnades and mysterious recesses, and occasionally, too, unseen altitudes above our head, more especially when lighted up with candles, hoisted high, and so as to give the appearance of an ample natural hall—I hold all these to be very impressive exhibitions. Only it is unfortunate, that in the printed Guides, which I will carry home with me, they should be written of in such a style of exaggeration; beside that they have been much injured by the visitors having despoiled them of their crystals.

"*Saturday.*—Left Matlock after five, in a stage-coach, for Derby, which is sixteen miles off. On my arrival found Mr. A. Fox waiting for me at the inn. He conducted me to his highly respectable, kind, and well-talented and cultivated family; and after an evening of rest, and truly congenial conversation with one of the best and most interesting families I ever knew, I retired to bed about eleven.

"*Sunday.*—After lunch accompanied the family to their pew, for the afternoon service at three. Heard Mr. Gell, a pious minister of the Establishment. Conducted family worship in the evening. Fear God, my dear Helen, and keep His commandments.—Yours most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*28th June* 1833.—MY DEAR FANNY,—I begin this letter in apartments at Trinity College, Cambridge; and you are much honoured by having a communication addressed to you, little Fanny Chalmers, from that place where the illustrious Newton received those lessons which were the rudiments of all his great discoveries in philosophy and science, and by which he

unravelled the intricacies of the material heavens, and caused a beauteous and magnificent system to emerge out of the chaos of their hitherto inexplicable movements.

"*Monday, 24th.*—Rose at eight. Strangers at breakfast; two Established clergy and two Dissenting ministers; went forth after it, first to a fine collection of busts and pictures belonging to Mr. Strutt, Mrs. Fox's brother-in-law, then to the noble seat of Kedlestone, three miles from Derby. Kedlestone is to me a greatly more impressive place than Chatsworth, presenting more of the features and characteristics of baronial grandeur, with a most magnificent lobby, having a stately row of alabaster pillars on each side, having a number of exquisite pictures withal, and grounds interspersed throughout with tall and aged oaks, and at one place, near the house, and where strangers are not usually admitted, of intense sweetness and beauty. Its proprietor, Lord Scarsdale, is about eighty, a great reader, but very retired; having a family physician who constantly lives in the house, and who, in virtue of being an acquaintance of the Foxes, was very kind to us, and admitted us to larger privileges than usual. In particular, we obtained through him admission into the parish church, which is so near the house as to appear like an ornament for the pleasure grounds; and I, with characteristic curiosity, craved an ascent to the tower, and with some difficulty, by help of a ladder to complete the series of communications, brought by one of the servants, was gratified in my wish. In return for their kindness, Lord Scarsdale, we were made to understand, had the privilege of a peep at us, his extreme retiring habits not admitting of a fuller approximation.

"*Tuesday, 25th.*—Got into the coach for London at half-past six, a distance of a hundred and twenty-six miles; passed through a series of magnificent stretches of cultivated land. The most memorable place was Woburn, a sweet and highly ornamented village, with an exquisite church on the immediate

confines of the Duke of Bedford's policy, whose mansion is openly and fully beheld from the road-side; reached the Angel Inn after nine, whence a hackney coach conveyed me to Mr. Nisbet's, in Berners Street.

"*Wednesday, 26th.*—Started at nine, much refreshed. Got a hair-dresser to clip me—a great humourist; he undertook, at the commencement of the operation, to make me look forty years younger, by cutting out every white hair and leaving all the black ones. There was a very bright coruscation of clever sayings that passed between us while the process was going on. I complimented his profession, and told him that he had the special advantage that his crop grew in all weathers, and that while I had heard all over the provinces the heavy complaints of a bad hay-harvest, his hay-making in the metropolis went on pleasantly and prosperously all the year round. He was particularly pleased with the homage I rendered to his peculiar vocation, and assured me, after he had performed his work, that he had at least made me thirty years younger. I told him how delighted my wife would be with the news of this wondrous transformation, and gave him half-a-crown, observing that it was little enough for having turned me into a youthful Adonis. We parted in a roar of laughter, and great mutual satisfaction with each other. Went from this to the warm-bath, where a German had the management. He told me that he understood me better than most of the English who came to him. I was at pains to explain to him the reason of this; and tell Miss Parker what my explanation was—that our island was named Great Britain, that English was the *patois*, but that I came from Scotland, and that our Scotch was the pure British dialect.—I am, my dear Fanny, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*London, July 1st*, 1833.—*Thursday, 27th.*—MY DEAREST GRACE,—Went to Charing Cross, where I entered the Cambridge

coach at half-past one. Found Cambridge all in a bustle with the British Association. Felt at a loss what to do. Had previously written Professor Forbes of Edinburgh to secure a room for me somewhere, but he was not to be found among the thousand *savans* present. Fell into the hands of Professor Henslow, of the botany: he told me that the students—it being still the vacation—were not occupying their rooms. Assigned me the apartments of Lord Lindsay in Trinity College; and I enjoyed the luxury of reposing within academic ground and among the hallowed retreats of genius: lulled to sleep by the vesper bells, which charmed centuries ago the ears of Bacon, Newton, Milton, &c. Fell in with Professor Sedgwick, the president of the Association this year, a man of great talent and genius, with a marvellous facility and force of extemporaneous eloquence; then with Mr. Whewell, author of the 'Bridgewater Treatise.' These have both become my intimates, and their kindness to me has been unbounded. Was hurried from one illustrious philosopher to another; and the introductions were beyond enumeration. Went from Section to Section, and heard in the different classes or committee-rooms the discussions of the separate or sub-meetings, as Brunel's invention of the block machinery at Portsmouth, with his broken French and an exuberance of humour that called forth peals of laughter. I look on my introductions to Lubbock and Babbage as very high ones. The work of the Sections was succeeded by a general meeting in the Senate House, which began at nine, and terminated in about two hours. I was led to a distinguished and elevated part of the hall, where there were many grandees of science and many ladies; most fortunately I found myself by the side of Mr. Scoresby, whom I found of great use, and very kind to me. He was formerly Captain Scoresby of Liverpool, and is now finishing his studies for the Church. The hall was full. Mr. Whewell gave an admirable popular lecture on the tides,

which went off with great applause; and Professor Farish, an old Cambridge friend, followed it up by remarks on steam-carriages. Fell in with Professor and Miss Airy, whom I had met in 1823 at Mr. Parker's. Lady Herschel came up to me, and begged that I would breakfast with the party at Professor Airy's to-morrow, where she and Sir John now were, which you may believe I readily consented to. Was conducted to my academic couch, and flung myself dizzied and delighted into bed about twelve.

"*Friday*, 28*th*.—Started between six and seven. Professor Sedgwick sent me a message that he would accompany me to breakfast with Professor Airy, who lived a mile from Cambridge, at the Observatory. Had a delightful walk with him thitherward. He took me to the roof of the Observatory, and explained to me all its chief instruments. Breakfasted with the very *élites* of the nation in philosophy—Sir John Herschel, Sir David Brewster, men from Oxford, men from Cambridge, &c. A celebrated optician showed us some experiments, after breakfast, in his department. Took a cordial leave of this party at eleven. Walked to Cambridge well accompanied. Met a letter, brought by a messenger, on the way, from Professor Forbes, who had tried to find me out, but could not, among the assembled hundreds the night before. Disturbed by learning from Mr. Sedgwick that at the public dinner to-day the Universities of Scotland were to be drunk, and that I was expected to reply. This set me conning a speech. Went to hear what was going on in the Section of Physics. Saw Professor Forbes there, and heard on the subject of light the argumentations of Herschel and Airy. After the work of the Sections was finished we had our concluding general meeting in the Senate Hall, quite filled with ladies and students; and on the elevated platform, around the President's chair, a brilliant assemblage

both of aristocratic and literary grandees. I was beckoned to go amongst them, and sat immediately behind the President, and by the side of Dr. Lloyd of Trinity College, Dublin. After the Report had been read we had many speeches, from Lord Fitzwilliam, the Marquis of Northampton, Dr. Robinson of Dublin, &c., the last named of whom delighted me with his defence of the high mathematics in opposition to a remark of Lord Fitzwilliam on the Reports being too abstruse for the comprehension of a general audience. At the breaking up of the meeting had many greetings, from Mr. Malthus, his lady and daughter, Dr. Buckland of Oxford, whom I knew before, Dr. Somerville, the husband of the famous authoress, &c. Transferred ourselves to the dining-hall of Trinity College, where sat at least six hundred. My ticket took me to table A, near the President, where I had the good fortune to be within conversation of Mr. Malthus. Much noble speaking, chiefly from the President Sedgwick, Marquis of Northampton, Brunel, Buckland, Vernon, son to the Archbishop of York, whom we met when we were together in London, &c. When our Universities were given, the chairman delivered a very high personal eulogy on myself, and nothing could exceed the deafening reception which I met with. The burden of my short speech was Sir Isaac Newton, a pupil of this College; and my toast was, 'Trinity College, and long may the science of Newton, and the Christianity of Newton, be enshrined within her walls.' I was received with great partiality and favour; and whereas there is a dread in such a mixed company of philosophers of any allusion to Christianity, my pointed allusion to the sacred faith and philosophy of Newton was received with a cordiality which nothing could exceed. Brunel's speech kept them in a roar of laughter for half an hour, though neither he nor any of us could reach perhaps to more than half the company. When we broke up, walked about with Mr. Jones,

Professor of Political Economy, King's College; then called on Mr. Simeon, by whom I was very kindly received; then met in his room at Trinity the son of Mr. Hoare, of Hampstead Heath, who had made himself known to me before; along with him were Mr. Perry, senior wrangler, and Mr. Goulburn, son to the quondam Chancellor of Exchequer. Talked congenially with them, and walked with the young men in moonlight among the courts and cloistered beauties of Trinity College.—Ever believe me, my dearest Grace, yours most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Chichester, Saturday, July 6th*, 1833.—*Saturday, June 29th.*—MY DEAR ANNE,—Started at seven. Before I left Trinity fell in with the venerable Mr. Kirby, an old and accomplished clergyman of seventy-five. He is one of the Bridgewater essayists; his subject being the Instincts and Habitudes of Animals. He had called twice at my rooms, and was coming down from his second unsuccessful attempt when I met him. Felt the honour of his attentions, and had a very cordial greeting with him. Then went to St. John's College—a venerable structure, greatly augmented and adorned in the finest collegiate taste within these few years. At breakfast Captain Scoresby and about twelve others, the most interesting of whom to me was the astronomer, Hamilton of Dublin, a very profound and transcendental mathematician. I should have mentioned in the letter to mamma, that on Thursday night I met in the Senate House Sir Thomas Acland, who was all heart, and inquired particularly for you. The stage coach to London stopped for me at the gate of St. John's College. I entered it at ten, accompanied by some eight or twelve friends who there took leave of me. Drove to London; reached Mr. Nisbet's after four.

"*Sunday, June 30th.*—Started between eight and nine.

An immense crowd at church; the middle passage exhibiting a forest of human heads, and the front gallery occupied by such auditors as the Duke of Sussex, the Duke of Richmond, Lord John Russell, Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, Lady Stewart, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Mansfield, &c. I preached in the forenoon only, and it was quite enough for me. In the vestry I met Lord and Lady Radstock, the latter particularly cordial; Mr. Buxton, and Sergeant Spankie, M.P., whom I perfectly recognised though I had not seen him for forty-one years, as a fellow-student and fellow-lodger at St. Andrews, &c.

"*Monday, July 1st.*—After dinner I went down to the House of Commons. A dull debate, and I did not sit to the end of it. Sir Robert Peel the best speaker. A number of the members came to me—last, though not least, Mr. Daniel O'Connell, who shook me most cordially by the hands, complimenting me on my evidence about the Irish Poor-Laws, saying that he was a disciple of mine upon that subject, and not of his own priest, Dr. Doyle; and I, on the other hand, glad of good being done whatever quarter it came from, and knowing him to be an influential personage, expressed myself much gratified with the view that he had taken on that question. I am sure it would have done your heart much good to have seen how closely and cordially Mr. Daniel O'Connell and your papa hugged and greeted each other in the Lower House of Parliament.

"*Tuesday, July 2d.*—Started at six; sailed down the river through the immense forests of London shipping; was entertained on deck by the music and dancing of the metropolitans; took an interesting view of the groups that go down to watering-places, and was on the whole revolted by a certain outlandish vulgarity that too evidently marked almost every individual. Landed at Gravesend about one; was there assailed by offers of service and entertainment of all kinds, but, pressing through the noisy throng, got into a fly, in which we were driven through a cul-

tivated region for seven miles to Rochester, contiguous to which is Chatham. The cathedral, though reputed a very inferior one in England, was to me an impressive spectacle, and the interior I think both respectable and imposing. The rugged antiquity of the castle makes it an interesting object, and, placed as it is on a commanding site, I had a rich scenic and geographical treat in the view of the river Medway, its junction with the Thames, the isle of Sheppey in the distance, and the immediate environs of Rochester and Chatham. After dinner, proceeded on the outside of a coach to within eight miles of Canterbury, whence we went forward in a post-chaise to this venerable seat of the Primacy of England. The country more diversified in its surface, and more laid out in corn-fields, than the greater part of England. Altogether there were great richness and beauty. The most impressive scene is from the top of the ascent after leaving Chatham, whence we had a magnificent prospect both of the Medway and Thames, down to the ocean. The distant coast of Essex distinctly apparent, and Sheerness on the isle of Sheppey could be distinctly pointed out to us, and all lighted up with glorious sunshine.—I am, my dear Anne, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*London, Wednesday, July* 10*th*, 1833.—MY DEAR ELIZA,—How comes it, that though only a very little way in Kent before, and that twenty-six years ago, I now traverse the whole of it with the comfort and consciousness of travelling, not through a strange territory, but one that in all particulars is perfectly known? Why, it is because I can go nowhere in this country without journeying on a *kent** road and feasting my eye on the beauty of *kent* fields, and entering boldly and familiarly of course into *kent* houses, and in every man I meet with recognising a *kent* face, and every party I sit down with feel-

* The Scotch word for known.

ing myself perfectly at home in the midst of a *kent* company. I awoke this morning at six. Three excellent clergymen called and accompanied me on what you might think a very superfluous errand, to show me *kent* ruins, and direct my notice as if for the first time to *kent* curiosities. But though *kent*, I really had the same pleasure in viewing those objects as if they had been altogether *unkent;* and before breakfast walked with great interest and pleasure among certain very ancient remains of the monastery of St. Augustine. My three friends breakfasted with us, and the gratification was prodigiously enhanced by our visit after breakfast to Canterbury Cathedral, a noble pile, all the more venerable in my eye that it is marked in a way that some would call deformed by the scars of antiquity. It is particularly black or rusty with age, and rises like a wrinkled or weather-beaten veteran among the buildings around it, with a noble tower of between 200 and 300 feet high, and a fabric studded with massy buttresses of high-wrought Gothic, and rising at different places into minarets and rich elevations. We are ushered into our first full view of the edifice by a magnificent gateway to a court skirted all round with the houses of the prebendaries and other officials, and aptly denominated the precincts of the Cathedral. But my admiration, though high, was greatly heightened on seeing the interior, which is the most perfectly beautiful of all I can recollect, consisting as it does of a stately vista of confronting arches and pillars, with an effect greatly enhanced by the contraction of the sides towards the east end, and the dying away of the columnar vista into narrower and narrower recesses. * * * Our three clerical friends, Mr. Davies of Ramsgate, Mr. Carus, nephew to Carus Wilson, and assistant to Simeon of Cambridge, and Mr. Geary, Curate in Canterbury, kept by us during the whole of the excursion, and we were joined therein for a short time by Mr. Braham—all as kind and cordial as possible. Mr. Braham had

obtained that morning from the Bishop of Oxford, now at Canterbury, a written permission for me to ascend to the top of the tower, which I with characteristic ambition gladly availed myself of, and at some fatigue ascended along with four of my companions 280 steps, to the evident surprise of the jack-daws who had deposited their nests with eggs in them on the very steps, so little exposed are they to this species of intrusion. Had a perfect view from the top, of all that lay within the visible but contracted horizon of the undulating scenery around us. On our descent visited the crypt which is below the Cathedral, and consists of the short but massive subterranean pillars that sustain the whole fabric, a very impressive scene. Then joined the Cathedral service. Took our departure in a fly from Canterbury. Went to Kingston, six miles south-east from Canterbury, where Mr. Bartlett is Rector. He was one of the five who called the night before, and arranged for us then part of the movements of this day; on the whole he is one of the most delightful and intelligent persons I have met with among the clergy of England. I stand indebted to him for three high gratifications—*first*, in that his lady is the great-grandniece of Bishop Butler, author of the Analogy and Sermons; and through her he is in possession of certain of this great man's relics, which he shewed me and put into my hands, as a snuff-box of antique fabrication, and a small jotting-book for the receipts and other little transactions of his clerical office; and lastly, a Greek New Testament with his annotations, all in his own hand-writing, and on which last Mr. Bartlett did me the honour of asking me to record in my hand-writing the opinion I had of this great champion of Christianity.* *Second*, less than a mile from Mr. Bartlett's parson-

* "In the summer of the year 1833 the writer of this *Memoir* was honoured by a visit from the learned and excellent Dr. Chalmers. During a conversation with that distinguished Christian philosopher, upon the course of study pursued

age house is the church and house where the great Hooker lived and laboured and died. Thither we went though in a pour of rain, and entered the church, where we saw his burial-place and monument, as also the house where he spent so many years of his life and breathed his last. *Third*, Mr. Bartlett drove me and Mr. Gillespie ten miles onward to Dover. * * * Our approach to it was most interesting; and I cannot adequately describe my sensations on first perceiving the French coast, seen with remarkable clearness. I felt it a great enlargement when my eyes rested for the first time on the continent of Europe. There is a very fine diversity of surface about Dover, a magnificent and imposing castle of great antiquity, and taking its name from William Rufus, not because he built but because he repaired it. Beside this there are the fortified heights, and, above all, the ranges of chalk cliffs, which towards the north form a continuous parapet along the sea, and towards the south are

in the Divinity School at Edinburgh, he remarked, 'that he made a point of grounding his class in Butler's *Analogy*, as one of the most important works which could engage the attention of the theological student; and he proceeded to speak of the author of that treatise in terms of the highest admiration. His eloquent ardour on the subject led to an allusion to some family relics of Butler, which were immediately inspected by him with lively interest. Among these, a Greek Testament, with manuscript notes by the Bishop, was put into his hands; and the divinity professor was requested to inscribe some original remark upon a blank page of the little volume. Dr. Chalmers received this request in a manner so strikingly indicative of the humility of a great mind, as to have left a strong impression upon those who witnessed the scene. He declared himself 'unworthy to write in Butler's own Testament,'—that 'it was a task for which he felt himself incompetent,'—and that he 'ought to have a week to consider of some sentiment deserving to be recorded in such a place.' With difficulty his reluctance was overcome, when he sat down and wrote as follows:—

"'Butler is in theology what Bacon is in science. The reigning principle of the latter is, that it is not for man to *theorize* on the works of God; and of the former, that it is not for man to theorize on the ways of God. Both deferred alike to the certainty of experience, as being paramount to all the plausibilities of hypothesis; and he who attentively studies the writings of these great men will find a marvellous concurrence of principle between a sound philosophy and a sound faith. July 3, 1833.'"—*Bartlett's Memoirs of Butler*, pp. 335, 336.

broken and interrupted by steep banks of brushwood. In this direction we were shewn Shakspeare's cliff, described by him certainly with poetic exaggeration. He probably never saw Dover; and in point of loftiness the cliffs certainly do come short of that which might have been anticipated from the picture of them in Lear's Tragedy. Still they are most impressive; and the vast antiquity of the period at which they figured in history, the days of Julius Cæsar,—the denomination which they have given to our island, Albion,—the imposing appearance they must present of a strong and impregnable front to our national enemies the French,—all give a vast public and historical importance to this locality in our coast. After tea scaled the heights which lead to the castle, surveyed the venerable structure with its adjacent ruins, eyed with peculiar interest the beach skirted by a wall of chalk, and terminating in the South Foreland—looked down from our eminence on the town beneath our feet. Was particularly delighted with the full and clear moonlight on the chalk itself, as white as snow;—threw myself into bed about eleven or twelve. * * * And now that I have finished this letter, I fear a very uninteresting one to you, as it has all related to *kent* matters and *kent* transactions, I bid you good night from Mr. Hoare's of Hampstead Heath.—And now, my dear Eliza, yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Hampstead Heath, July* 11*th*, 1833.—*Thursday.*—MY DEAR GRACE,—After breakfast had a ramble among the cliffs and fortifications of Dover. Ascended a subterranean stair, which, along with two others, winds up a hollow cylinder from a lower to a higher part of the precipice. When we had got to the top, saw Calais most distinctly through a telescope, its conspicuous feature being three remarkable architectural elevations close to each other. Still, Britain presents a far more impos-

ing front to France than France does to Britain, the French coast, though cliffy, being considerably lower. Took leave of our kind friends Mr. Bartlett and Mr. Knocker at our inn at ten o'clock, when we entered our coach, Mr. Gillespie and I being, with some trifling exceptions, the only inside passengers all the way to London. Our object had been to get round to Chichester by the coast; and if you look at the map you will perceive how much new country, and what new towns we should have gained by that proceeding. Instead of which we had to *snool* back again to London the way we came, there being no public conveyances as far as we ascertained that could be depended on. Reached Mr. Gillespie's in America Square after seven o'clock, and remained there all night. * * * *Friday, July 5th.*—Entered the coach for Chichester after breakfast. The country is moorland and whinny and heathery for a good many miles, but gets beautiful the last half of the road. The most interesting passages of this journey to Chichester, were, first, the sight of Hampton Court Palace, on the opposite side of the Thames—then the beautifully variegated and wooded landscapes which lie between Guildford and Godalming—then the confines of Petworth in Sussex—then the noble prospect to the north from the high part of the road or Dunoter-hill—then the semi-alpine wilderness when crossing an elevated ridge—then the burst of new scenery within the compass of a new horizon when the south opens upon the view, and the whole coast of Sussex, with its fringed and cultivated lands on this side of the beach, and the watery ocean beyond it, are brought for the first time before the eyes of the beholder. Descended rapidly from this eminence towards Chichester, whose venerable cathedral with its lofty spire forms a sort of land-mark on our approach to the city. Found my friend Mr. John Barton, brother to the Quaker poet, awaiting me in the street, and was most welcomely received

by him. Went to the cathedral, whose external appearance is highly venerable and imposing; and I with characteristic ambition climbed my way upward, dragging Mr. Barton after me. where I not only obtained a perfect conception of the environs, but could recognise at the distance of fifteen miles to the west the Isle of Wight. I could even descry, though faintly, the masts of the shipping in Portsmouth harbour. Dined and spent a very pleasant evening with Mr. Barton. He is quite a *littérateur*, of no profession, but a great philanthropist and student, and seems very much respected. *Saturday, July 6th.* —Was driven by Barton to Chichester. I need not describe over again the tract of yesterday, but satisfy myself with stating my arrival at Mr. Nisbet's, my removal thence to Brunswick Square, and my very cordial reception by the Parkers. I enjoyed my visit to this abode of genuine friendship. *Sunday.*— Walked to church—an overwhelming crowd, if possible greater than on the previous Sunday, and I cannot recollect the names of the most distinguished. One auditor, however, eclipsed them all in singularity and splendour, Rammohun Roy, dressed in scarlet with a sash about his waist, and a rich turban on his head, which he did not take off during divine service. He sat before the pulpit, and though I did not know him, yet I guessed rightly who he was. He came to us in the vestry afterwards, and after complimenting me as a heavenly preacher, entered into a theological argument, which not being very convenient to prosecute in the midst of fifty gaping auditors who crowded in to the interview, we agreed to adjourn the question till he should come to Edinburgh.*—I am, my dear Grace, yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

* "After I had concluded one of my sermons in the Scotch Church in London, I was visited in the vestry by Rammohun Roy, the Hindoo Brahmin. He asked me what would become of the souls of the heathen who, while destitute of the knowledge of the Christian religion, endeavoured to obey that Divine law by which the

The week which followed was spent "in the very thick of London Society." At Lambeth Palace the venerable Archbishop gave a most gracious reception. At Fulham Palace he dined with a "small but very select party, there being besides the Bishop of London himself, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Gloucester, the Bishop of Lincoln, (all as courteous as possible,) Mr. Locke of Greenwich Hospital, a truly pleasant, intelligent, and friendly person, Mr. George Sinclair, Mr. Senior the Economist, and Sir Robert Inglis, that man of superlative worth." At Sir Michael Shaw Stewart's he had the pleasure of renewing his acquaintance with Mr. Spring Rice, "the same lively, cordial, light-hearted and kind person as ever." At Mr Hoare's of Hampstead Heath he had much delightful intercourse with the Rev. Mr. Cuningham of Harrow, the Rev. Mr. Blunt of Chelsea, Sir Francis Palgrave, Mr. Peacock, &c. On Wednesday the 14th, he preached a sermon in the National Scotch Church in defence of Religious Establishments. "The sermon of this day," he writes, "awakened no middle sentiment, but high approval among the Episcopalians, and deep dissatisfaction among the sectarians, one of whom said to the collector that he should rather be paid for hearing such a sermon than asked to pay anything. Lady B. tells me that it has been much talked of, and I have been greatly urged by the Bishop of London to publish it. I think it better not." On the forenoon of Friday the 12th, he had an interview with Miss Martineau, "a person of firm intellect and sense. I spent an hour with her, and we parted the best possible friends. I sent her some of my books, and more especially my one upon Endowments, she being an enemy, she told me, to Church Establishments."

natural conscience is illuminated. I told him that I had then no time to enter into the subject, nor was it within my proper province. I would only remark, that there was a sufficient difference between the future prospects of the heathen and those of Christian believers to justify the utmost extent and ardency of missionary exertions."—*From J. J. Gurney's Memoranda of Dr. Chalmers.*

"*Saturday*, 13*th*.—Went to Sir Francis Palgrave's office, where I was shewn Doomsday Book, and put my hands upon it—beside seeing the venerable records of treaties, and acts, and autographs of monarchs, and all such documents as present the real and authentic deeds of English history; then was helped on in an omnibus to Chancery Lane near Temple Bar, where I dined with Mr. Pickering. Beside Roget and Prout there were a Sir Harris Nicholas, two English clergymen, the Professor of Italian in the London University, &c., to the number of eight or ten. The Bridgewater people conducted themselves with all proper gravity and decorum, but the others were too clamorous and noisy. I, however, comforted myself by a quiet and friendly talk with Dr. Roget beside whom I sat. * * * Mr. Buxton's carriage came for me between eight and nine, and took me to his house for the night. A family party, with the exception of Miss Gurney and Miss Buxton, two ladies advanced in life, and alike singular for the vigour of their intellects and the infirmity of their frames. They are in London on a visit; but live on the coast of Norfolk, in a beautiful cottage near Cromer, on a footing that resembles somewhat that of the ladies at Llangollen, but differing from them in that theirs is an association not of romance but of active benevolence, contributing as they do by their worth and their wealth together to the best interests of the vicinity in which they are placed. Buxton, a frank, friendly, and very sensible person. Went to bed about eleven."

On Sabbath the 14th, he preached again in the Scotch National Church, and had the satisfaction of learning afterwards, that within the fortnight of his residence in London, in collections and subscriptions, there had been obtained for that Church about £1200.

"*Tuesday*, 16*th*.—Went off in a cab to Kensington, where I breakfasted with Mr. Senior the Economist. The Archbishop

of Dublin, Mr. Chadwick, Mr. Bishop, (the last two Poor-Law Commissioners,) and Mr. James Stephen, were of the party. A great deal of scientific conversation. The Archbishop kinder and pleasanter than he had ever been. Drove to Hornsey, a beautiful parish on the other side of Highgate. Dined in the Parsonage House with Mr. Harvey, himself a pleasant cultivated person, and his company no less so. The most interesting to me was Mr. Le Bas from Malthus' College, my friendly reviewer in the British Critic, with whom I had much cordial talk." Delighted with the transition, he made his escape from London on the following morning.

"*Earlham, Norwich, July* 22*d*, 1833.—*Wednesday* 17*th*.—MY DEAREST GRACE,—Started from London at half-past five. Some splendid scenery along the road. Felt Chelmsford, Colchester, and Ipswich, to be great acquisitions. Have marked as particularly beautiful the view of Colchester and its environs from the north—the descent to Stratford over the river Stour, which separates Essex from Suffolk—the view of Ipswich and approach to it. The English agriculture greatly improved. It is chiefly a corn country from London all the way to Norwich; and many are the sweet and lovely habitations, and abundant the ornate foreground scenery over the whole extent of the region through which I passed. Landed at the outskirts of Ipswich about four o'clock. Here excellent Mr. Bridges was in waiting with his gig. I took leave of my coach company; superintended the transference of my luggage from coach to gig, but as afterwards appeared not with my wonted attention or accuracy. Got in beside the pious and devoted man of God, not yet forty I should think; felt the sacredness of his character in the abundance of a heart that breathed and uttered nothing else. His house was fourteen miles off, being three miles on the other side of Stowmarket, through which we passed. The

country is one unvaried scene of cultivation, of gentle undulations, and enriched by the frequent clumps of foliage and wooded hedge-rows of England. The first thing which shaded my enjoyment was the announcement of a meeting prepared to receive and hear me, and Mr. B. even talked of its being so numerous that it should convene in his church. In the midst of my cogitations, arrived at his beautiful and sequestered parish; was conducted to a bedroom, where I waited the arrival of my luggage, when, lo and behold, the bag was not to be found! and there was I, strengthless, and shirtless, and capless, and razorless; and to complete the list of alases, a service before me for which a company was assembled in the drawing-room within, and to which a parish had been summoned from without. With the weight of all these cogitations, tramped down stairs to the tea-party, chiefly of ladies, and who had come to see and hear this said Mr. Wonderful; thence to an outhouse—for I prevailed on him to give up the church—where he performed the English service, and I expounded in Scotch after him the best way I could; thence to supper now reduced to a family party; thence in a state of great dazedness and dejection to bed, after the fatigues of the past month, and perplexities of the past day. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Earlham, Norwich, July* 23*d.—Thursday* 18*th.*—MY DEAR ANNE,—I was much rested and refreshed by my ten hours' repose; and all was pleasurable during the remainder of my stay at this little paradise. The pious family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Bridges, who walk together as heirs of the grace of life, three little children, a Christianized man-servant, and two or three Christianized female servants, assembled before breakfast, when I was asked to expound, which I did, and I believe a great deal better than I had done the night before. Miss Wakefield, a grand-daughter of the authoress, Priscilla Wakefield, their visitor

at present, and the female teacher of their infant school, were also of the party. The breath of heaven is here; without, a scene of beauty that to the eye of sense is altogether delicious—and within, a sanctuary of love and holiness. After breakfast took me to an adjoining field, where, under the foliage of a spreading tree, the infant school was assembled. I was asked to address them, and did it. Mrs. Bridges visits the houses of the parish with the view to a Christian effect, and is a mighty help to her husband. He took me to his church and a few of his cottages, and I never witnessed such closeness and efficiency of pastoral work as he exemplified in his addresses to the mothers of families. He makes a real business both of the Christianity of his own soul and the Christianity of his family and parish, watching over the souls of all as one who must give an account.* Mr. Bridges has shewn me the very great kind-

* "EDINBURGH, *September* 11*th*, 1833.—MY DEAR SIR,—It is with no common feeling of interest and affection that I now sit down to write to you, having borne away a very profound sense of all that I witnessed in your parish and under your roof, besides a very grateful and pleasing recollection of your great kindness to myself. I have seen much of England since I left you, but nowhere did I spend a more congenial day than in your society and among your cottages. May God long uphold you in that high and heavenly walk which you have chosen upon earth, and make you the honoured instrument of reclaiming thousands to the way of peace and righteousness, who, after the death and the resurrection, might sit down with yourself amid the glories of our Redeemer's kingdom. I always rejoiced when I observed on the parlour table, which I have done more than once in my travels since I took leave of you, your precious Commentary on the 119th Psalm. It is both extensively read and exquisitely relished by the Christians of this country. Indeed I look on a relish for that book as a test of the mind having acquired a right sense and savour of spiritual things, imbued as it is with the essence of scriptural truth all over, insomuch, that as one passes from sentence to sentence, he might feel as it were the droppings of a heavenly manna upon the heart. Your Life of Miss Grahame I have heard spoken of in the highest terms, and that by the most advanced and intelligent Christians whom I know anywhere.

"Nothing has interested me so much in all my movements as the state and aspects of the English Church. Mr. Edwards of Lynn I regard as a very fine specimen of a clergyman. There is, I conceive, a very prosperous work going on at Hull, under the direction of the truly devoted ministers of the Establishment there. I lived with Mr. Venn, and also, when at Sunderland, lived with Mr. Gray, the truly admirable Rector of that place. I was also much interested by the parochial activities of Dr. Gilly at Norham, with whom I spent a day or two. I am

ness of taking me in his own gig to Earlham, though at the distance of thirty-two miles from his own house. He had previously sent off a horse and servant to a half-way house, so that we had the benefit of a fresh horse and continuous drive from his own house to Mr. Gurney's. * * * Reached Earlham. Most kindly and cordially received. A few friends there, and Mr. Girdleston, the minister of the parish of Earlham. Went to bed at eleven.

"*Friday* 19*th*.—Awoke after a night of delicious repose, and with the full consciousness of being embosomed in an abode of friendship and piety. Gave up the day to sauntering. A spacious and commodious house, with ample store both of bed and public rooms. Luxuriated in the grounds. The Quaker exercise both at family worship and before and after meat very impressive. Their graces are performed in silence, while in the family devotions of the morning and evening they read and generally pray: Mr. Gurney, however, often devolved this duty upon me, which I went through in my own usual way, though they in general stood when I knelt. My superlatively excellent friend, Mr. Bridges, left us at one o'clock, but not before he had the satisfaction of seeing my bag borne in in triumph, being sent forward in obedience to his written directions, and none triumphed with greater exultation than he. Mr. Bridges left us, but not without leaving on my heart a profound sense of

aware that there are gradations of spirituality; and certainly I have seen or heard of nothing which reminded me so much of Old Newton, as a paper put into my hand of the Christian statistics of a parish in Hampshire, which perhaps you may have seen, drawn up by its clergyman, and exhibiting a marvellous degree of success in the work of the ministry.

"May God grant, that instead of being satisfied with being almost, we may one and all of us honestly and earnestly aspire towards the mark of being altogether Christians. Let me crave an interest in your prayers, and a reply at your leisure, as I should really esteem your correspondence a very great privilege; and with much respect and regard, I am, my dear Sir, yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"THE REV. CHAS. BRIDGES."

his Christian devotedness and worth. After he went out, Mrs. Francis Cunningham, the lady of one of our best English clergymen, came in, and has been an inmate during my abode at Earlham. She is sister to Mr. Gurney, and is really a very attractive person, for simplicity, and Christian principle, and elegant accomplishment, and withal high intelligence and cultivation. But last of all, another lady, who dined and spent the night—now aged and in Quaker attire, which she had but recently put on, and who in early life was one of the most distinguished of our literary women, whose works, thirty years ago, I read with great delight—no less a person than the celebrated Mrs. Opie, authoress of the most exquisite feminine tales, and for which I used to place her by the side of Miss Edgeworth. It was curious to myself, that though told by Mr. Gurney in the morning of her being to dine I had forgot the circumstance, and the idea of the accomplished novelist and poet was never once suggested by the image of this plain looking Quakeress till it rushed upon me after dinner, when it suddenly and inconceivably augmented the interest I felt in her. We had much conversation, and drew greatly together, walking and talking with each other on the beautiful lawn after dinner. She has had access into all kinds of society, and her conversation is all the more rich and interesting. I complained to her of one thing in Quakerism, and that is the mode of their introductions: that I could have recognised in *Mrs. Opie* an acquaintance of thirty years' standing, but that I did not and could not feel the charm of any such reminiscence when *Joseph John* simply bade me lead out *Amelia* from his drawing-room to his dining-room. I felt, however, my new acquaintance with this said Amelia to be one of the great acquisitions of my present journey; and this union of rank, and opulence, and literature, and polish of mind with plainness of manners, forms one of the great charms of the society in this

house. Had much and cordial talk all evening; a family exposition before supper, and at length a general breaking up, somewhere about eleven o'clock, terminated this day at once of delightful recreation and needful repose.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Saturday, July 27th.*—Mrs. Opie left us early, and we parted from each other most cordially. Went with Mr. Gurney in his carriage to Norwich—first to his bank, where I acquitted myself with all proper bows and civilities of pleasant remark to the partners and other members of the Establishment whom I was brought into converse with; secondly, through the town, ancient and respectable, with no less than thirty-six parish churches, several of which I entered, and was solemnized by their grandeur; thirdly, to the castle, around whose walls we walked, and where I eyed with delight the number of ecclesiastical towers that arose from the general mass of buildings; fourthly, to the cathedral, where I was introduced to Prebendary Wodehouse who took charge of me, and conducted me in person through the cathedral. But I must first mention the call which I and Mr. Gurney made on the venerable Bishop, now in his ninetieth year. He received us with great courteousness; had just finished the reading of my last book, which he complimented, and gave us most entertaining anecdotes of other days, and I felt particularly interested in his personal acquaintanceship with Bishop Warburton. We stopped a quarter of an hour with the venerable old prelate,—a perfect gentleman, and of a mild and benevolent spirit, and great suavity withal. I was much pleased with the cathedral and its precincts, through which Mr. Wodehouse, who kept by me for two hours, conducted me. There is a great predominance of Saxon in the cathedral. I, as usual, ascended to the top of the tower, and dragged the Prebendary after me. The chief points of

attraction and interest are the cloisters, beautifully groined; Erpingham's gate, an entrance to one of the courts of the cathedral, with a small and graceful sweep of arch, and great exquisiteness without exuberance of ornament; the tower, perhaps the finest part of the general building; and lastly, the monuments, not so much for their architecture, as for the celebrity of the men to whom they are dedicated, being no less than Bishop Hall, Bishop Horne, and Dean Prideaux."

Of this visit to Earlham, Mr. Gurney has preserved lengthened memoranda, from which we give the following extracts:—

"*Earlham, 7th Month, 24th,* 1833.—As we were sitting in the drawing-room rather late on the evening of the 18th instant, Dr. Chalmers entered, with our friend Chas. Bridges, Vicar of Long Newton, Suffolk, as his companion. Dr. Chalmers is a man peculiarly susceptible of being pleased—looking at objects which surround him through a favourable medium.

"CHAL. 'I have been travelling through Kent, Essex, and Suffolk, and now through Norfolk, the agricultural garden of England. It is a delightful country—varied in its surface, and clothed in greenness. As to the *moulding* and *statuary* of the scenery, we excel you in Scotland; but when I look over the fields of your country, I seem to be no longer looking through my naked eye, but through an eye-glass tinged with green, which throws a more vivid hue over nature than that to which I am accustomed.'

"On the following morning we conversed on the subject of the great minds with which he had been brought into contact. I asked him who was the most talented person with whom he had associated, especially in power of conversation. He said, Robert Hall was the greatest proficient he had known as a converser, and spoke in high terms of his talents and of his preaching. 'But,' said he, 'I think Foster is of a higher

order of intellect; he fetches his thoughts from a deeper spring; he is no great talker, and he writes very slowly; but he moves along in a region far above the common intellectual level. There are passages in his Essays of amazing depth and beauty, especially in that on "Popular Ignorance." I am sorry to say, however, he is disposed to radicalism, and would scarcely object to substitute for the machinery of Oxford and Cambridge—those endowed seats of religion and learning—factories worked by steam!'

"In the course of the morning Dr. Chalmers accompanied me to Norwich. As we were going into the market-place, he was arrested by catching a view of the steeple of 'St. Peter Mancroft Church,' (as it is called,) which he thought a noble structure. He is fond of ecclesiastical architecture; and it was entertaining to observe the pleasure which he enjoyed while we were examining the building without and within.

"The next objects of our attention were the hall called 'St. Andrew's,' originally used for public worship, and built by Sir Thomas Erpingham, as a penance for his sins; the beautiful gateway to the cathedral, which bears the name and image of the same Sir Thomas; the cathedral itself, of which the almost unrivalled tower was of course pointed out; and the elegant ruin in the Bishop's garden. No young or ardent traveller could derive more pleasure from such sights than the Doctor. We then called on the venerable Bishop, now in his ninetieth year, and very delightful was our interview.* The dear old man was in good heart and health, reading without spectacles,

* "Dr. Henry Bathurst, the Bishop of Norwich, is the survivor of thirty-six children, by one father and two mothers. When a young man, he acted in the capacity of private secretary to the first Earl Bathurst, the celebrated friend of Alexander Pope. At his house he was accustomed to meet the most eminent characters among the Tories of that period—for example, David Hume—and his store of anecdotes respecting them is rich and varied. His memory is peculiarly retentive—so much so, that when a boy at Winchester School, he could repeat memoriter the whole of Homer's Iliad in the original Greek."

hearing without the smallest difficulty, and able to talk with his old vivacity. He was evidently much animated by seeing Dr. C.; on the other hand, Dr. C. was *charmed*, as well he might be, with the Bishop.

"BISHOP. 'Dr. Chalmers, I am very glad to be introduced to you; I have just been reading your Bridgewater Essay, with great satisfaction. I am especially pleased that you have insisted so much on the views of Bishop Butler, whom I have always reckoned to be one of the best and wisest of writers.' I remarked, that it was strange that a writer of so liberal and comprehensive a cast should be accused of Popery.

"BISHOP. 'There is no ground for it—people will always call names; they will tell you (addressing Dr. C. with a smile) that my friend Joseph here is a wicked fellow.' They then conversed on Dr. Adam Smith's theory of moral sentiments.

"BISHOP. 'I am sorry to find, from your work, that his splendid passage respecting the necessity of a mediator was omitted in the second edition.' *

"CHAL. 'The omission was probably owing to his intimacy with Hume.' I asked the Bishop whether he had not been acquainted with Hume.

"BISHOP. 'Oh yes, I used to meet with him at the old Lord Bathurst's; he was fond of a game of whist, to which I too had no objection, and we have sometimes played together.

* "Dr. Chalmers's whole soul was called forth in the most mingled emotions, by a discovery that I had made accidentally of the original MS. of Dr. Smith's famous passage on the atonement in the first edition of his Moral Sentiments. There was something so strange, that when Dr. Smith's injunctions to his executor to destroy any loose MS., had been most anxiously followed, that passage—in some respects the most memorable in his work—should have been so long preserved, and should re-appear from between the folds of a volume of Aristotle in 1831,—that the Dr. on seeing it could scarcely credit the testimony of his own eyes. His inspection of it was deeply interesting, and in some measure amusing. His remembrance of it, I believe, never faded from his recollection."—Extracted from a Letter from the Rev. W. B. Cunningham of Prestonpans, into whose hands Dr. Smith's Library has passed.

He was a very good-natured man; but I have heard him say cutting things about *us*—I mean the clergy.'

"The Bishop then repeated part of the passage from Dr. A. Smith with peculiar accuracy and feeling. I do not precisely recollect whether the Bishop quoted the whole of this extract; but he told us, that the passage had been fixed in his memory since his early manhood. When he afterwards spoke, in his usual terms, of his painlessness of body, and peace of mind, the *latter* more particularly was adverted to, I think, by Dr. Chalmers, as a subject of especial gratitude and satisfaction. 'The more so,' I added, 'because it is grounded, as I trust, on that great doctrine of Christianity, to which even Adam Smith has so feelingly alluded.' 'Oh yes,' said the Bishop, in a decided and emphatic tone, 'that is the *only thing*—there is no *other* way.' This acknowledgment precisely corresponded with what I had before heard from him, and was very grateful both to myself and to Dr. Chalmers. The Bishop afterwards drew a lively picture of the talented but hot-headed Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, who was well known to his uncle, Lord Bathurst; and also of the mighty Warburton, in whose diocese he had once held a living, and with whom he was familiarly acquainted. He described him a giant in conversation, and a fearless champion against Hume and other infidels;—'I have no liking for the men,' said he, 'and no fear of their talents.' With the exception of Lord Bathurst and a few others, he indulged in a sort of scorn against the nobles of the land. 'As for you *lords*,' said he in the Bishop's hearing, 'your venison is but a poor repayment for the fatigue of listening to your conversation.' I suppose that, like Johnson, he imagined himself privileged to be a bear.

"Bishop. 'His wife too had a spirit of her own—she used to call her husband Brigadier Moses!'

"I was glad to hear Chalmers and the Bishop fully accord-

ing in the praise of Warburton's 'Julian,' which surely contains important and specific, though somewhat indirect evidence of the truth as it is in Jesus. After our friend C. W. had conducted the Doctor to some others of our ecclesiastical remains, we returned home to dinner. It is always pleasant to watch the noble expressions of Dr. C.'s countenance; but he is often very quiet in a large party. I never saw a man who appeared to be more destitute of vanity, or less alive to any wish to be brilliant.

"In the course of Monday morning the Doctor and I walked down to a fir grove, at the extremity of the park, where a colony of herons have lately formed a settlement. He was as much interested and pleased as a schoolboy would have been in watching the singular appearance, gestures, and sounds of these birds. His mind seemed quite occupied by the *fitness* between the length of their necks and that of their legs, and also by the circumstance, that as they swim not, but only *stand* in the waters, they do not, like other aquatic birds, require webs to their feet—and *therefore* have none.

"CHAL. 'The great fear I entertain respecting the operation of the Reform Bill is, lest it should throw the legislative power into the hands of men of business—already full of all kinds of occupation—to the exclusion of men who have *leisure* for deep study and reflection, and are therefore able to cope with great principles on the various subjects of legislation. There is a fine passage in Ecclesiasticus, on the danger of entrusting with the arcana of government, men whose hearts and hands are full of the common business of life. I wish we were more alive to the principles which are there unfolded. It is an alarming fact, that in order to effect a paltry saving of a few thousand pounds per annum, that great work, the trigonometrical survey of Great Britain, was on the point of being left incomplete. It was saved by a majority of only two votes in a committee of the House of Commons.'

"The passage to which Dr. C. alluded, and which we forthwith read together, is well worthy of notice. It is in chap. xxxviii., and begins as follows:—'How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks? He giveth his mind to make furrows, and is diligent to give the kine fodder.' The writer then goes on to describe in a vivid manner, the work of the carpenter, the seal-cutter, the smith, and the potter; and adds, 'without these cannot a city be inhabited, and they shall not go where they will, nor go up and down. They shall not be sought for in public council, nor sit high in the congregation; they shall not sit on the judge's seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment, and they shall not *be found where parables are spoken.*'

"CHAL. 'I take great delight in the book of Ecclesiasticus. Were I to speak merely from my own judgment of the internal evidence, I should say that it contains almost equal marks of inspiration with the book of Proverbs. But the New Testament gives no countenance to such an opinion. There are few books of the Old Testament more often quoted by the evangelists and apostles than the book of Proverbs; but they take no notice of Ecclesiasticus.'

"The more we became familiarized to Dr. C.'s company, and observed the remarkable union which he presents of high talent and comprehensive thought, with an almost childlike modesty and simplicity, the more we admired him, as one notable example of that exquisite *divine workmanship* which so much fills his own contemplations. I may also add, that the more we became acquainted with his thorough amiability, the more we loved him.

"I must not conclude without just remarking, that our dear and honoured friend is a man of *prayer*. The prayers which

he uttered in our family circle, on some solemn occasions, were concise, emphatic, and comprehensive—indicative of a very reverent sense of the holiness of God, and of the all-sufficiency of the one appointed mediation. I find myself often recurring to some of his concluding words,—'These petitions we humbly offer unto Thee, in the name of Him whom Thou hearest always. Amen.'"

"*Steamboat between Boston and Lincoln, July 29th*, 1833.—*Tuesday, July 23d.*—MY DEAR GRACE,—Rode to Norwich with Mr. Gurney and Mr. F. Cunningham. Called on Mrs. Martineau, mother to the celebrated authoress. Was introduced at the Guild-hall to the mayor of the city. He was very polite, and shewed me several of the official apartments. After profoundly acknowledging by one of my profoundest bows, the profound sense which I had of the honour done to me, took my last leave of Norwich. * * * Proceeded to Marshland, a district of Norfolk, a very singular low lying country, a great part of which has been reclaimed from the sea by draining, or reclaimed from inland fens in the same way. There is a magnificent cut through which the whole river Ouse that runs by Lynn has been turned. This we crossed by a wooden bridge on entering Marshland, which we surveyed to the extent of about six or seven miles; taking note of the beautiful churches that rise from the gentle elevations which occur here and there in this level country, almost on a horizontal plane with the sea itself. Entered one of these churches, Terrington, which, though belonging to but a country parish, might pass for a cathedral in Scotland or Ireland. Ascended to the top of its tower, whence I could descry the Wash, that great inlet from the German Ocean, the opposite shores of Lincoln, with the fenny region towards Ely on the south, as far as the eye could carry us. Descended to our carriage; returned to Lynn; was there intro-

duced to Mr. Edwards, a clergyman in Lynn, and Mr. Gedge, the clergyman of Runston, Mr. D. Gurney's parish. Mr. Edwards is the finest specimen of a dignified and respectable clergyman I have anywhere seen in England. He is between sixty and seventy; scientific, with the manners of a perfect gentleman; great force of character, and a certain air of superiority, which must add to the weight of his station, and make him all the more useful and influential; for he is a minister of the right stamp, and so is every way fitted to sustain the honours of his establishment in the community where he labours. He and Mr. B. conducted me through Lynn, a fine old town full of interesting relics, beside having two very handsome churches, all of which we visited in a round of about two hours. The most striking antiquities are the Greyfriars' Tower, and Redmount Tower. Occasional vestiges of the old town wall add to one's impression of the ancient importance of the place. Mr. B. and I went in Mr. G.'s carriage back to Runcton Hall, where we dined at six. Took leave at nine o'clock with Mr. Brereton in his gig, and drove on to his parish and parsonage house.

"*Thursday, July 25th.*—Visited the interesting small church of Runcton, but large enough for the parish, which has only a population of 100. I may here remark that the churches in this region are very much built of flint; and that, generally speaking, the churches in Norfolk, and more especially in Lincoln, even in the most remote and retired parishes, are remarkably rich and handsome. Set out with Mr. Brereton in his gig at ten o'clock, on a round of thirty-five miles, among the north-west parishes of Norfolk. We had two little fellows on ponies, a son and nephew, as outriders a great part of the way. Went first to Castle-Rising, where we inspected the Saxon Church, and a very fine Saxon ruin of a castle; then north-east to two handsome country churches, one of which we alighted at and entered; thence to Hunstanton upon the Wash, where there is a remarkable

cliff of a mile in extent and of chalk, and where a number of parties had assembled for the pleasure of dining at the Light House Inn, and walking along the beach. We took this walk, and on remounting drove through the courts of a magnificent old abbey; hence to the Marquis of Cholmondeley's seat, which we looked at externally; thence back to Little Massingham, where a party of ministers and ministers' wives had been invited to meet me. They came in their own gigs or chaises; and it was very interesting to meet with the clerical society of England in one of its remotest vicinities. Mr. G., pastor of Great Massingham, was remarkably gentle and mild, and Mr. C. of Weasenham remarkably intelligent; but of all the clergymen I have yet met with, I must distinguish Mr. Edwards, the centre of a clerical association of fourteen or sixteen ministers, devoted I hope to the great object of the Christian ministry—the salvation of souls, an object which I beg you will prosecute for the sake of your own imperishable spirit, and the spirits of all those who may be affected by your example.—With God's blessing upon you, I am, my dear Grace, yours most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Hull, July 30th*, 1833.—*Friday, 26th.*—MY DEAR MARGARET, —Entered a coach from Lynn to Ely, with my face away from Edinburgh, and towards London, or about thirty miles to the south. Fell in with a friend of Mr. Edwards, who knew me, and we had as much talk as his non-understanding of my dialect could admit. The country is very low, and was at one time much under water, that is now carried off in drains or very broad ditches to the Ouse, which we crossed about half-way to Ely. In this journey I left Norfolk and entered into Cambridgeshire. It is for the sake of the cathedrals that I am now travelling so circuitously, and the one at Ely is truly rich and magnificent. Aided by the printed guide, I studied the whole

of this elaborate and highly ornamental pile with a particularity and a feeling of satisfaction greater than I had ever before experienced. I was introduced to Mr. Sparke, a prebendary, and son of the bishop, who invited me to the palace to see an old monkish painting, held to be a great curiosity. Expatiated over this noble edifice for hours, and was much aided by Mr. Miller in the examination of the more recondite beauties and curiosities of the place. Dined with Mr. Evans at four, but made one round more of the cathedral before dinner. We had previously entered the bishop's palace, and surveyed the old pictured tablet. I could not resist the temptation of a gig to carry me onward through the very heart of the fen-country which I had eyed from the top of the cathedral tower an hour or two before, so that I took leave of Mr. Evans and Mr. Miller after dinner, and was driven to Chatteris, twelve miles distant. Ely is situated on a more elevated region, formerly surrounded by fresh-water marshes, and so denominated the Isle of Ely. We approached it from the fen-country, now drained on one side, in the forenoon; and now on another side descended again into a land of pools and ditches, where the water is but a few inches from the cottage-doors along the margin, and the bairns *paidle* like so many ducklings in the much loved element. Reached Chatteris at the gloaming; and I went out among the simple villagers to meditate in the evening-tide and survey the church and churchyard monuments of this remote part of the world. Took coffee, and went to bed in a good village inn between ten and eleven.

"*Saturday, 27th.*—Started at five. Out of the reach of public conveyances, and so hired another gig to take me on to Whittlesey before breakfast. We were now in the very perfection of the fen-country, being several feet below the level of the great running streams, upon land subject to frequent inundations, and where they get quit of the water by means of windmills placed

along the banks of a broad and running canal, which drive a wheel that lifts the water in a sort of bucket, up from the low country outside of the bank, and pours it into a wooden channel that conveys it into the higher water of the canal, which carries it down to the sea. The frequency of these windmills, the vast extent of level country on all sides to the extreme horizon, the perpetual smell of burnings by which they consume the dried wreck and weeds which they gather upon the land, the roads frequently running along the tops of canal banks for miles, because it would be unsafe to attempt the low soft yielding country, above the level of which I was driven for miles together—these form the chief features and characteristics of a very wide territory that extends over a great part of Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Lincolnshire, and that has interested me greatly. After a joyous morning of gig-driving got to Whittlesey before nine, ready for my breakfast, of which I ate very heartily, and felt as if nothing was wanted to complete the enjoyment but M. P. Chalmers to make the tea for me. While it was making I went forth upon the village, surveyed its two churches, and went round the larger one, reading some epitaphs in its churchyard. Hired another gig, in which I went first to Thorney, at whose church I alighted and entered, it being one of an antique and curious description, and then to Crowland, whose curious triangular bridge I particularly examined, and whose venerable old abbey I explored, ascending, as usual, to its highest battlements. After finishing this enterprise I got my gig yoked and went to Peterborough. I should have mentioned that Crowland is also in the fen-country, and the intersections of canals are so frequent in and about it that it has been compared to Venice. The cathedral at Peterborough is a truly exquisite one. I went of course to its summit, and eyed the mighty panorama of champaign over a waste of waters all around me. I meant to have stopped

here all Sunday, but could not resist the temptation of a coach opportunity to Boston, about thirty miles on my way. When I discovered this I ordered dinner at my inn, and took the opportunity while it was getting ready of calling on Mr. Hughes, one of the prebendaries. He received me with the utmost kindness—hoped I was to remain over Sunday —said how delighted the dignitaries of the cathedral would be to meet with me; and I do confess that the hope of becoming acquainted with the Bishop Herbert Marsh, now the most learned prelate on the bench, almost staggered my resolution in going forward; but prudence prevailed, and I only remained a quarter of an hour with him. He furnished me with an introduction to Mr. Bentham, surveyor of the repairs in Lincoln Cathedral; and I took leave of this accomplished author—he having written an account of his travels in Albania, beside being the editor of a work comprising a series of the early fathers of the English Church. Before I left Peterborough I was discovered by one of the outside passengers on the coach, who rather obtrusively asked if I was to preach at Boston, who I was to hear there, &c. I observed him making me known to a shopkeeper at Spalding, a town through which we passed, when they both ran together to the shop, I supposed to write a letter to some of the Independents at Boston to get up a deputation. Got forward through this additional portion of fen-country, and reached Boston at nine, where I shortly after my day of fatigue retired.

"*Sunday*, 28*th*.—Lay till nine. At breakfast a deputation did come, my Peterborough discoverer having made known my arrival. I went forenoon and afternoon to the superb church at Boston, one of the noblest parish churches, and furnished with one of the finest and loftiest towers in England. It has a grand interior too; and I was much delighted with the chanting, but found the sermons, though respectable in point of literary ex-

ecution, destitute of the true evangelical unction, and little fitted either to convert or nourish the soul, the care of which you must remember, my dear Margaret, is the one thing needful. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Sunderland, August 5th*, 1833.—*Monday, 29th.*—MY DEAR HELEN,—Visited the church and ascended the tower of 351 steps, whence I had a satisfactory view of the surrounding country; tracing the Witham river, on which Boston is situated, to the sea; viewing distinctly over the Wash a part of the counties of Lincoln and Norfolk; casting my eye eastward and northward over an immense fen-country as far as Lincoln, which we scarcely saw, but which is distinctly visible in clear weather from the top of this tower, commonly known by the name of Boston Stump in the counties all around from which it is visible,—a name not altogether congruous to the exquisite beauty and lightness of the structure, or the airy elegance and symmetry of the masonic lantern by which it is surmounted. Examined this building an hour and a half, when I descended and went to settle matters at the inn; when, after clearing my way with them, had boots fairly off with the luggage beside me to the passage boat, distant about a quarter of a mile. The steamboat into which I had got, sails from Boston to Lincoln, keeping nearly in the old bed of the river Witham, now deepened and formed into a wide and regular canal, over the banks of which we had frequent glimpses into a flat country, reclaimed far and wide from its original state of marsh by the operation of draining. The people came into our boat both at Boston and from various parts of the tract through which we passed, and had a good deal of the uncouthness and rudeness of the otter tribe, an amphibious species of animal like themselves. I got rather a coarse breakfast on board; employed

much of my time in writing letters; asked questions occasionally of my neighbours around me, though we little comprehended the dialects of each other; reached Lincoln about two, and with some difficulty got my luggage, by means of a skiff and a porter together, landed safely at an inn called the Saracen's Head. Thence I ascended in a very hot day the arduous street which leads to the summit of the hill on which the cathedral stands—(by the way, the approach to Lincoln by the canal is very fine; and its noble cathedral, from the commanding situation which it occupies, has a most stately and imposing appearance, and is seen from an immense distance on the west and south.) Proceeded to examine the cathedral, which is truly magnificent. Had a bad and lazy guide; but I went by myself to the top of the great tower, by an ascent of 336 steps, which added to the Boston ascent this morning made 687 steps. There are very few indeed who ever go up this great central tower; and perhaps no man alive was ever before on the top of Boston Stump and of Lincoln Cathedral in one day. I stood on the highest possible apex, and gloried in the view of the surrounding country on all sides of me. Descended to my lazy cicerone in the nave, and he made me over to another man, whose office it was to shew the largest bell in England, placed in one of the two turrets at the west end, and with the ascent of which, of 270 steps, most people (but not your papa) are satisfied.—This bell is so big that it is called the great Tom of Lincoln. It has the same shape with our bell in the lobby, but there is a great difference in the size of it. Why, it is so immense a thing that the tongue of it is taller than papa; and when I crept under it, and stood upright, I could scarcely touch the roof of it with my hand. There were two other people in it at the same time with myself; but there is room in it for ten or twelve, and I would have needed to have lifted up you or Fanny in the inside of it

to have touched the top of its long tongue with the ends of your fingers.*—So much *in print* to Helen for the great Tom of Lincoln. It is never rung now, being cracked and a large bit out of its rim, though I doubt if it could be rung with safety to the tower.

"*Tuesday.*—Made a second visit to the cathedral, with book in hand. There Mr. Bentham, surveyor of the repairs, joined me, with whom I left yesterday a letter of introduction from Mr. Hughes of Peterborough. He completed my information of this noble pile, keeping by me for two hours, and introducing me to the librarian, who also shewed me great attention. I made a second visit to the great Tom; and, on the principle of never being satisfied with an idea till I get round and round it, got again inside of it, and walked three times round its tongue. After a short visit with Mr. Bentham to the castle and lunatic asylum, which last I did not enter, descended to the Saracen's Head, took my inside berth in a coach for Hull, looked often backward from the window, and could descry for a long way the cathedral at the termination of the road. Met at the pier by Mr. Venn, the minister, who took me to his house. I spent the evening with him, and retired at eleven. It was here that we read in the 'Record' the death of Mr. Wilberforce. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Sunderland, August 7th.—Wednesday, July* 31*st*, 1833.—MY DEAR LITTLE FANNY,—Rose to a most respectable and interesting breakfast party. Hull is particularly well off both for its Christian clergymen and its Christian citizens. Mr. Venn in whose house I am, is still among his thirties, and a most active, intelligent, zealous minister. Besides him there is Mr. Scott, at the head in respect to influence of the ecclesiastics, son to the Commentator or author of the 'Force of Truth,' himself the continua-

* The preceding paragraph in the original MS. is printed in large letters.

tor of 'Milner's History,' and author of his father's 'Life,' a person I should think towards sixty, and father of a large family; Mr. Curry, an Irishman, but a lively, pleasant, and withal pious minister; Mr. Dykes, &c. They are all strenuously embarked on works of Christian usefulness, having thoroughly localized the place, and obtained an immense agency, chiefly of females. Mr. Venn wanted me to hold converse with them, which with difficulty I consented to, on condition that it was no more than a large conversational party with question and answer. After breakfast a deputation was announced, consisting of a Methodist minister, an Independent Dr., one of my Methodist students last year, and another. The object was that I should preach. * * * The Established clergy who were present came to my aid, and stated the work which they had got me to do, from which it appeared that even they were not treating me fairly, for instead of a room party, they were to have put me in a church, where the expectation was that I should deliver an extemporaneous harangue from a pulpit. Meanwhile we got quit of our dissenting deputation with much ado. I afterwards remonstrated with Mr. Venn, and got him to abandon the church, substituting a smaller affair in its place; for better a regular service at once than such an approximation to it with the disadvantage of no written preparation. Went forth with Mr. Venn, first to the house where Wilberforce was born, which we entered; secondly, to the school he attended, which we also saw; thirdly, to their best church, whose tower I ascended, and where I studied the geography of the town and neighbourhood; fourthly, to their famous docks, by which ships are brought up to the very heart of the town, making a circuit from the Humber to the river Hull. In this progress I not only became master of the external features of the place, but was introduced to many of its living characters. Dined at three in Mr. Venn's—very much a clerical party.

Carried to the agents in a gig along with the Rev. Mr. Scott at six, where, instead of a room and a conversation, I found, after all, an assemblage of at least 400 people ranged in forms, with an elevated desk at one end which I was to occupy—tantamount, in spite of every remonstrance from me, to an extemporaneous sermon, which was very unfair. As a specimen of the unpleasant sort of collision to which I am exposed, a crowd was assembled at the door who could not get in; and some of the Established clergy were insulted by them, and reproached with keeping me to themselves, and that my inclination was to preach for the dissenters had they allowed me, so as to have had a larger place. This called forth Mr. Scott, who gave a public explanation to the contrary, assuring the people that it was my determination and not their doing, &c.,—all very delightful you may believe in the hearing of their excellent brother sitting beside them, and listening to the tale of his own health and his own praises. I had to corroborate Mr. Scott's assurance, and said that so far from having to vindicate the clergy from restraining me to too small a place or congregation, they had exceeded every wish and understanding of mine by finding for me too large a one; and thus commenced my palaver of an hour's length, for which I begged their indulgence, and apprized them that I was not at all prepared. The matter, however, they all said, went very well off; and I went to bed glad that it was well over.

"*Thursday.*—Rose early. Made a circuit by myself through the town. Crossed the river Hull in a ferry-boat, and laved my hand in its waters, doing the same also in the waters of the Humber—thus symbolizing my acquisition as it were of these two rivers, having previously done the same at the Wash, which is what I call taking infeftment. * * * Set off at twelve in a coach for Beverley, open, and drawn by Mr. Venn's own horses. He accompanied me along with Mr. Scott and

another clergyman, whose name I have strangely forgotten. It was a most kind and respectable convoy for nine miles. The object was that I might see Beverley Minster, not a regular cathedral, but really as splendid and noble an edifice as I could desire to see, and that would rank high among the cathedrals of England. In taking up Mr. Scott at the outskirts of Hull, made a short call on his interesting family, consisting of a wife and a good many children; one son in orders, and several grown up daughters. Before examining the cathedral minutely, visited the minister of Beverley. His name is Mr. C., and as I wrote Helen in my last letter about the biggest bell I had ever seen in my life, let me now write little Fanny about the biggest man I ever saw. He is so heavy that he cannot walk; he would weigh more than two of your Papa. We found him sitting on an arm chair that could have been made into a bed for you and Helen sleeping in. When he goes to the church to preach, which he does very often, he gets upon a wooden horse called a velocipede, which runs upon wheels, and with this he moves through the streets, and through the church till he gets to the foot of the pulpit; and then two great strong men-servants push him up the stair and through the door of the pulpit with their backs and their shoulders, when he sits squash down upon an immense cushion, and preaches sitting to the people, for to do it standing would be impossible.* He received us with great politeness, is a literary and gentlemanly person, and so much esteemed that his odd movements in public excite no ridicule, he being very much respected and sympathized with. On my stating how desirable it is to have a printed guide for all great objects of curiosity, he made distribution among us four of a small work that he himself had drawn up on Beverley Minster, furnished with which we made a most satisfactory survey of the magni-

* This paragraph is also printed in the original MS.

ficent, highly adorned, and carefully kept structure, used as a parish church, but having no less than £1400 a year of revenue for keeping it in order.—I am, my dear Fanny, your affectionate Papa, THOMAS CHALMERS."

Through Whitby, whose Abbey, "a noble ruin," he examined most particularly, and Stockton-on-Tees, within a few miles of which he was shewn the place where Captain Cook was born, Dr. Chalmers proceeded to Sunderland. "Dr. Paley was rector here, and I was much interested in the view of his study, of the room in which he died, of the field around which he took excursions on horseback. Walked around it with the party, and from a particular spot at the wall had an admirable view of the famous bridge at Sunderland. This was a favourite spot to which he used to carry his visitors for the view. Walked thence to Monkwearmouth, and saw the simple, and it is said very antique church at this place." On Sabbath the 4th, and on the following Tuesday, he preached for Dr. Paterson, Presbyterian minister at Sunderland, "a very sensible and superior man, and a great favourite of the Church clergymen." Of one of these clergymen with whom he had taken up his residence, Dr. Chalmers writes, "Mr. Grey spends more than his ecclesiastical income on ecclesiastical objects—paying two curates, and supporting as well as building in great part out of his own means educational institutions. Altogether he is a truly devoted servant of Jesus Christ, and lives and labours solely for the objects of Faith, having chosen the better part, and reckoning the care of the soul the one thing needful." On Wednesday, Dr. Chalmers was driven by their proprietor, Mr. Longridge, to Bedlington Iron Works. "Mr. Longridge, a man of sound intelligence and principle, delighted me with his various plans for the moral and educational and economical management of his work-people. Walked to Bedlington Church:

the most picturesque churchyard I ever saw, with a beautiful assemblage of tomb-stones, very tastefully laid out, with approaches of little plantations, and the ivied buttresses of the church. There are some curious epitaphs, of which the following is one:—

> 'Poems and epitaphs are but stuff;
> Here lies Robert Burrows—that's enough.'

Drove to Morpeth; breakfasted with Mr. Brown. Mr. Blakey there, author of a good book on Moral Science; had rather a keen controversy with him on taxation. Went in Mr. Longridge's carriage, first to Morpeth Castle, and then to the vicar, Mr. G. King, who was prepared to receive me, and shewed me Sir Isaac Newton's manuscripts. Mr. L. took leave of me before my examination of these manuscripts, which lasted two hours, and from which I could clearly gather that Newton was an Arian."

Stopping a night by the way with the Rev. Marcus Dods, Belford, Dr. Chalmers made Norham his next resting place.—"*Friday, August 9th.*—Nothing could exceed the cordiality of Dr. Gilly's welcome; a pleasant family, with Mrs. Gilly, the Alpine fellow-traveller of her husband, and an exceedingly pleasant and interesting person. Their place is on the English side of the Tweed, and we strolled along its banks before dinner. The Church of Ladykirk is on the opposite side and in Scotland: its clergyman, Mr. Robertson, urged me for a sermon on Sabbath evening, and I saw the Gillys all so set upon it, that considering the kind accommodation of their carriage, notwithstanding my engagement to preach at Belford, eighteen miles off on the forenoon, I consented.

"*Saturday.*—The carriage after breakfast took us to Berwick. Dr. Gilly and several of his family accompanying us. Visited the pier, going out to its extremity: took infeftment both of the mouth of the Tweed, which runs through the harbour, and

of the German Ocean, on the beach to the north of it. Then walked a certain way on the outside of the wall, and re-entered the town near its singular and spireless church built by Oliver Cromwell.

"*Sunday.*—After preaching at Belford, I was carried in Dr. Gilly's carriage with the same rapidity as in the morning back to Norham. Went in a body across the river in Dr. Gilly's boat. Clomb up the north bank to Ladykirk, a beautiful Gothic structure of great simplicity and entireness. A large crowd in the churchyard, whom Mr. Robertson would not admit till the commencement of the service. The consequence was, that after spending a few minutes in the manse, where a number of clergy were, we proceeded in a pretty large cavalcade to the church, but could with great difficulty penetrate the crowd to the door of the church, so that in pushing and squeezing forward, I had to encounter nervous ladies and bawling gentlemen, and murmuring artisans, who complained of coming for miles, and being compelled to stand and be stifled there for a great length of time. We at length made our way, I getting in first and taking possession of the pulpit, and a torrent behind me, who spread over the church and occupied all its sitting and standing room. Went back with Dr. Gilly after preaching at two places eighteen miles asunder, which subjected me to thirty-six miles' travelling—or a still better way of putting it, after doing what few have done, preaching in England and Scotland on the same day."

From Norham to Woodhouselee Dr. Chalmers meant to have "speeled along the border on foot, with one leg wherever it was possible in England, and another in Scotland." The kindness of friends "frustrated his pedestrian speculation;" and the only approach to solitude that he realized throughout the week was, when on the Saturday afternoon he "proceeded down the Lid-

del, in company with George Thomson, of seventy years of age, a genius and a character; and as he walked slow, and I kept back with him for the sake of his information, we took just four hours and a half to our twelve miles' ride. He gave me much intelligence regarding all the hills and localities within sight—being a pure Liddesdale man, and thoroughly imbued with the spirit and tastes of a Scottish Borderer, besides being a botanist, and, I suspect, a poet also. He pointed out to me Mangerton Pillar, round which I went; Mangerton House, on the other side of the Liddel; the site of Jock o' the Side's house; the direction where Pudding-burn House lay; Stangarth Castle, &c.; all famous in Border story. He represented himself as a relative of the poet Thomson, whose father, by the way, died minister of Hopekirk, and is buried there. He recounted to me various Border exploits, and had the traditionary knowledge of many Border rhymes—as, for example, from Scott's publication,

> 'It was then the use of Pudding-burn House,
> And o' Mangerton House, all haile;
> Them that cam' na at the first ca',
> Got nae mair meat till the neist meal.'*

I made him stop at a toll-house to wet his thrapple a wee, and sat down myself to a bouse with him, a travelling butcher, and a servant of Mr. Elliot's—that is, I gave all their good healths in the act of slaking my ain drouth with a willy-waught of ale. We then proceeded onwards; the prospect brightening more and more into cultivation as we approached Canonbie. The distant Cumberland and Dumfries hills, as Skiddaw and Gryphel, with the silver Solway between them, were particularly impressive. Got to Woodhouselee at three. Grievously disappointed at the non-appearance of Mrs. Morton. After dinner I sillered George Thomson's loof, and sent him back with the pony so soon as I understood that he and the beast both were suffi-

* *Dick o' the Cow.—Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. i. p. 144.

ciently rested and sufficiently fed. We strolled in the evening, and thus the end of the week brought me to the end of the Border line. The only revisitation I should like to make along the whole length of it, is to the Hermitage river that runs into the Liddel from the N.W., and that for the sake of Hermitage Castle. I cannot but remark it as unexpected and strange, that I should, without my being previously aware of them, have been so handed from one acquaintance to another, and from one horse or carriage to another, so in fact as not to have been suffered to foot it along any part of the journey. I all the week, in fact, have had the services done to me which I recollect in my younger days done to those beggars who were carried about in barrows;—lifted at Norham, and let down at Kirknewton—lifted at Kirknewton, and let down at Sprouston—lifted at Sprouston, and let down at Edgerston—lifted at Edgerston, and let down at Wolflee—lifted at Wolflee, and let down at Hindlee—lifted at Hindlee, and let down at the Rowe—lifted at the Rowe, and let down at Woodhouselee. I will not, when I consider the length and arduousness of the way, say it was hard to be disappointed of my pedestrian speculation; but rather when I look back to all the accommodation I have had, and to the kindness which prompted it, I cannot but feel a grateful emotion, which for once in this classic and inspiring region, I shall give vent to in poetry—

Good people my thanks,
For thus haining my shanks."

CHAPTER XX.

THE ANNUITY-TAX—DR. CHALMERS'S OPINION OF THE RESISTANCE TO ITS PAYMENT—COLLISION BETWEEN THE PRESBYTERY AND TOWN-COUNCIL—SPEECH IN THE PRESBYTERY—SUDDEN ILLNESS—CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. WELSH, HIS BROTHER JAMES, AND HIS SISTER MRS. MORTON.

THE whole tithes of Scotland were levied in kind from the cultivators of the soil until the accession of Charles I., by whom they were universally commuted into a fixed and permanent rent-charge, which secured a moderate provision for the clergy, without imposing any burden on the property or industry of the kingdom. But while Scotland is indebted to Charles for her deliverance generally from the evils of the tithe system, Edinburgh may attribute to a suggestion of that monarch the establishment of a mode of payment for her ministers, which has been the fertile source of civic discord and complaint. The established clergy of Edinburgh derive their incomes mainly from the proceeds of the Annuity-tax, an annual impost of six per cent. on the rental, payable by the occupiers, but not directly affecting the owners of all "the several dwelling-houses, chambers, booths, cellars, and all other houses, high and low," within the ancient and extended royalties. From the payment of this impost all the members of the College of Justice, comprising the Bench, the Bar, and the whole body of Writers or Attorneys, are by law exempt. As dissent grew, and civic burdens multiplied in the Scottish metropolis, it was natural that a tax, the incidence of which was so unequal and unjust, should be felt to be oppressive.

It would have been enough to create dissatisfaction, that the occupier had to pay all and the owner nothing; but when, in addition to this, a large, and that the wealthiest, class of the community was suffered wholly to escape, the double injustice quickened the popular discontent. The enemies of national religious establishments, who had chosen the period of the Reform agitation to organize themselves into a society, and to make an open and general assault, were not slow in seizing upon the special advantage which the existence of such a tax afforded, and scarcely had that agitation subsided at the passing of the Reform Bill, when Edinburgh was made the scene of a vehement opposition to the Annuity-tax. The leaders of this movement did not aim simply at the removal of those obvious defects which adhered to the existing arrangement. Their ears were closed to all proposals which had for their object only the equalizing of the burden. They rejected the Bill introduced by the Lord Advocate (Mr. Jeffrey) in June 1833, the design of which was to transmute the payment to the clergy into a fixed sum, and to do away with the exemption claimed by the members of the legal profession,—they rejected it upon the ground that it legalized and made permanent the title of the city clergy to a fund raised by public assessment. That title they wished to annul,—the principle upon which the Annuity-tax was founded being more offensive to them than any peculiarity in the mode of its exaction. And when the hope of immediate Parliamentary interference, to the effect of abolishing the impost, was removed, they sought to inflame the public mind still more against the tax, and against those for whose support this public fund was raised, by refusing to pay it, and by throwing upon the clergy the odium of enforcing payment by legal distress. And it might have served their purpose could they have exhibited the ministers of Edinburgh as exacting from the poor or the unfortunate the uttermost farthing which the law

entitled them to demand. But in no such invidious light was it possible to exhibit them. In the exaction of this tax they had always acted with the utmost leniency. They had urged, indeed, its extension, but it was not that their individual incomes might be increased, but that additional ministers for the city might be provided.* While the law directed that six per cent. should be charged upon the full rental; with their consent it was only upon four-fifths of the rental that it was charged. Though all dwellings were made liable to this burden, all tenements paying £5 and under were exempted. Whenever actual inability from poverty or misfortune was pleaded, the clergy had been always willing to grant the certificate which freed from payment. But when hundreds who had no such plea to urge refused to pay, and by that refusal threatened to cut off or reduce the maintenance of the ministry, the odium of having recourse to legal exaction too evidently fell not on those who enforced the payment, but on those who rendered that enforcement necessary. It was shortly after this system of non-payment had been adopted, that, the subject having been introduced at a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Dr. Chalmers could not refrain from the expression of his surprise and indignation.† "It is a topic," he said, "which one scarcely knows how to approach, for capable though it is of being looked at in different ways or from different points of view, they all of them are excessively painful; and no one, I am persuaded, whose heart is in its right place, but must feel it to be precisely that topic which it is both most distressful to think of and most difficult to speak

* See a remarkable instance in proof of this, and a most eloquent tribute to the memory of the Rev. Dr. Inglis, in "A Letter to the Lord Provost, relating to the Annuity-tax, by John Lee, D.D. Edinburgh, 1834."

† As the clergymen who were paid out of the proceeds of the Annuity-tax declined bringing the matter before the Presbytery, Dr. Chalmers, who had no personal interest in the matter, was the more readily induced to interfere.

of as one ought. The general desire for a change or rectification of the system by means of a new law—*that* I can understand; but anything like a general refusal of the old law, and that by a simple and spontaneous cessation of the wonted payments, with no other account of the matter than that they so choose it, and no other authority than the bidding of their own will—*this* is what I do not understand. * * *

"But let me not be mistaken. I am not calling hard names or applying severe epithets to any class of men. I am characterizing acts and not persons; for I will not believe, after the real nature and character of such acts come to be fully understood, I will not believe it possible that, to any great extent, they can be persisted in. In whatever way the new score between Edinburgh and her clergy is to be entered on, it were an indelible stigma on your city were the old scores not most fully and honourably cleared off. I do not say that the stigma has yet been contracted; or if it have in any great degree, I do not feel as if I betrayed too sanguine a temperament, when I express my confidence that it will be speedily wiped off. It is impossible to think otherwise. Let the thing be but exposed and fairly laid open, and every generous, every honest feeling in the place must be revolted by it. It has only to be stated, it has only to be seen in its own native and proper light, to bring Edinburgh to herself again. In every view you can take of it, the enormity is such, that the disgrace of it would be felt intolerable; and that, whether we look to the character of the injustice in itself, or, let me add, to the character of those who are the objects of it; some of superlative talent, and who, in any other profession, could have earned a revenue in comparison with which the whole even of their fair and full allowance is but a pittance and a bagatelle; some whom, attracted by the eminence they had won in their country parishes, you have lured from their comfortable homes,

and whom the present tendency of things would land in destitution; some, and these not a few, who, besides being signalized by the superior and surpassing vigour of their pulpit ministrations, are positively wearing themselves out in the service of your institutions, or in the still higher though unseen services which they are daily, almost hourly, called upon to perform in the bosom of families; and, lastly, I will not say some or many, but all of untarnished name and high respectability, who have done nothing to forfeit the courtesies of life or the good-will of their fellow-citizens; and what have they done, I would ask, that, in the face of your virtual engagements, and with the violation of all integrity and good faith, they should be made to forfeit the subsistence of their families? Why, there is not an honourable man, who, if once made to view the matter in this light, which I think to be the true one, would not spurn from him the burning infamy of such a transaction, and refuse all share in it. That in a season of great public excitement, a season often of frenzy and forgetfulness, many should be denaturalized into such a proceeding, this may happen in any town or in any country; but that many should withstand a remonstrance, lifted up in the name of the country's yet unrepealed law, and grounded on the clearest principles of fair dealing,—this is not Scotland, it is not Edinburgh!"

Nevertheless, the method of non-payment was resolutely persevered in, and the authorities were forced to interfere. In one year, 1833, no fewer than 846 persons were subjected to prosecution. When the attempt was made to sell by public auction the goods of some of the recusants, a mob assembled round the officers of justice, the auctioneer was assailed by all kinds of contumely, and the sale was hindered. Imprisonment had at last to be employed. Rather than pay the small sums they owed a few submitted to be incarcerated. They remained, however, but a few days in jail, the tax

having, in the meantime, been paid by themselves or their friends. The day of their liberation was made a day of public triumph, processions of from 8000 to 10,000 persons having attended two of these voluntary martyrs from the Calton Jail to their homes. This unseemly conflict was at its height when, at the close of 1833, the first Reformed Town-Council came into office. One of its earliest efforts was to get rid of the obnoxious impost. Early in 1834 a plan was recommended to the Council by a committee of that body, the leading features of which were, that the Annuity-tax should be abolished, that the number of city ministers should be reduced from eighteen to thirteen, and that the stipends should be paid from the pew-rents, any deficiency being made up by a tax on all heritable property, one-half to be levied from the landlord and one-half from the tenant. In the discussions on this plan, which were conducted with great eagerness, the Council and the Presbytery came into collision. Frequent conferences were held between committees of the two bodies, and at last, on the part of the Council, a set of queries was submitted, to which a formal authoritative answer from the Presbytery was required. The drawing up of answers to these queries was committed in the first instance to Dr. Chalmers, and Wednesday the 23d January was appointed for the deliverance of the final judgment of the Presbytery. The court was crowded to excess, the Lord Provost and many members of the Council being present on the occasion. Before reading the answers which he had prepared to the Council's queries,—"Allow me," said Dr. Chalmers, "to depone to the perfect urbanity of our reception by the Committee of the Town-Council. In fact, I was exceedingly delighted by the cordiality of our meeting, and the courteousness we met with has made a deep and indelible impression upon me; but I think it perfectly consistent with this recognition to say, that while we rejoice in this cordiality and courteousness, we must

not suffer ourselves to be altogether fascinated or carried away with it. On this subject I may state a small circumstance in my own history. It so happened that the professor of divinity in this city was at one time accommodated in a respectable house, with a large domain attached, consisting of nearly an acre of land, which, unfortunately for the professor of divinity, is no longer in his possession. The present magistracy offered £550, and when I coupled this with the expression 'to be accepted in lieu,' I certainly thought it my duty to make inquiry regarding my rights to the piece of ground which is situated between the College and the Infirmary, and now covered with houses, yielding a plentiful revenue of feu-duties to the present corporation. I say, I certainly thought it right to secure the right of the theological professor to so productive a source of revenue. Now, I never experienced anything in this negotiation but the greatest courtesy, and plenty of bowing and rebowing; but mark, in the midst of all their complaisance they always keep a sicker hold of these feu-duties; and to shew the meaning of the phrase in 'lieu,' I may explain that the feu-duties have arisen to the amount of several thousand pounds, and the present professor receives in 'lieu' thereof £36. I am willing to defer to the utmost to the cordiality, complaisance, and gentlemanly feeling with which I was received, and with a feeling akin thereto I could not help being reminded of a Glasgow story relative to a Bailie Anderson, who resided there fifty years ago, and Lady Betty Cunningham. The bailie happened to be an elder in the church of St. Enoch's, and Lady Betty a hearer. One of Lady Betty's old servants had fallen into decayed circumstances, and applied to the bailie for parochial relief. The bailie said Lady Betty should relieve her own servants herself, and declined to accede to the request. When this was told to Lady Betty she retaliated by going to church on the following Sunday with the firm determination of

giving nothing to the plate, and the bailie happening to be officiating at the door, she made the most profound courtesy, and sailed most magnificently up the centre of the church. The bailie was at first so much struck that he stood aghast, and took a moment to recover himself; he then entered the church, and addressed Lady Betty, but in a voice so loud that the whole congregation might hear him, 'Gie us less o' your manners and mair o' your siller, my lady.'"

To the first query, which demanded whether the Presbytery were willing to renounce all right to the Annuity-tax, and accept in lieu thereof a fixed stipend out of the ordinary revenue of the town, the answer bore, that the Presbytery was not willing to renounce that right till another fund equally productive and equally stable with the Annuity-tax was provided; that the ordinary revenue of the city was not such a fund; and that the seat-rents would be particularly obnoxious as the primary source of ministerial income, inasmuch as a direct and strong inducement would thus arise to raise them as high as possible, while it was notorious that it was their having been raised so high already which had shut the city churches against the poor. To the sixth query, deemed by Dr. Chalmers the most important and vital of all, the answer was,—"The Presbytery cannot give their consent to any arrangement which shall have the effect, either immediately or in future, of reducing the number of clergymen. On this subject the Presbytery would, in the first place, appeal to those days in the past history of Edinburgh, when, as in 1668, there were twelve ministers, with a population, it is understood, of less than 20,000, or in 1722, when there were sixteen ministers, with a population of about 25,200. The numbers at present are eighteen ministers to a population of upwards of 55,000;* and the Presbytery never can consent to aggravate still farther

* This embraces only the population within the royalties.

the disproportion between the former and present ecclesiastical provision for the city, by a reduction in the number of city ministers. They are the more strenuous in this resistance, that the evil has been fearfully increased by an inundation of hearers in the city churches from the suburbs and surrounding neighbourhood of Edinburgh, in virtue of which it will be found that many thousands within the city itself, now wandering like sheep without a shepherd, have been denuded of that rightful property which they once had in the Sabbath ministrations and week-day services of their respective clergymen. The Presbytery never will consent to a reduction in their number, so long as the peculiar service of reclaiming these outcasts remains unaccomplished—a service of the utmost importance to the moral and Christian interests of the community, and which, under the present system of seat-letting and of general congregations, is utterly impracticable."

Having commented largely on the answers to the remaining queries, Dr. Chalmers proceeded,—"I will not speak of the ecclesiastical burdens of the city, because the effort of the clergymen is to deliver the city from a tenfold heavier burden of pauperism, profligacy, and crime. The two terms of the alternative are the luxury of the higher classes, and the instruction of the lower, and I stand up as the friend of the lower classes when I stand up for the maintenance of that fund which is the subject of your deliberations. Our cause, despite of the obloquy which has been heaped upon it, is emphatically the cause of the unprovided—it is the cause of the poor against the rich—of the many who should reap the benefits of the Establishment in the lessons of Christian instruction, against the comparatively few who would refuse to pay the endowments, or who would retain what is not theirs, and who for their own private uses would appropriate that which ought to be expended on the best and highest objects of patriotism

After quoting a passage in favour of Establishments from the writings of William Cobbett, Dr. Chalmers concluded thus:—

"I have already professed myself, and will profess myself again, an unflinching, an out and out—and I maintain it, the only consistent radical. The dearest object of my earthly existence is the elevation of the common people—humanized by Christianity, and raised by the strength of their moral habits to a higher platform of human nature, and by which they may attain and enjoy the rank and consideration due to enlightened and companionable men. I trust the day is coming when the people will find out who are their best friends, and when the mock patriotism of the present day shall be unmasked by an act of robbery and spoliation on the part of those who would deprive the poor of their best and highest patrimony. The imperishable soul of the poor man is of as much price in the sight of heaven as the soul of the rich; and I will resist to the uttermost—I will resist even to the death—that alienation which goes but to swell the luxury of the higher ranks at the expense of the Christianity of the lower orders."

"The Reverend Doctor," the reporter adds, "throughout this long address, spoke with marked energy and emphasis, and at the conclusion, in particular, his manner was characterized with unusual animation. On sitting down, a burst of applause rose from the spectators, which lasted for several minutes." His exertions were so great as to have caused at the time a good deal of uneasiness to some of his friends who witnessed them, and their fears were unhappily realized. "Pretty late in the afternoon of that day, I happened," says Professor Macdougall, "to be passing along the North Bridge. The Presbytery had just broken up, and Dr. Chalmers was walking briskly homeward, alone. He made a sign to me to cross from the opposite side and join him. I did so, and passing his arm hastily through mine, he began immediately to talk of what had taken place

in the Presbytery. We had not gone many yards when he suddenly stopped short, and said in a subdued but agitated voice, that 'he felt very strangely.' I asked instantly, *how?* He said he felt very giddy—a numbness down one side, and a tendency to fall in that direction.* I did what I could to assure him that utter confusion and giddiness was no more than might quite well have been expected from such vehement and sustained exertion, completely disordering the digestive functions. He asked at once the disconcerting question, Whether that was ever found to occasion such sensations in one side only? My answer, I am afraid, must at the best have been lame and awkward. Meanwhile, having stood but a few seconds, we walked forward again. He said he felt somewhat better, and leant on my arm as before, but continued from time to time to strike the palm of the hand that was disengaged smartly against his thigh, as if to restore the circulation. The momentary appearance of agitation had passed away with a rapidity that astonished me: he seemed to have recovered in an instant the sweetest and most perfect composure, and he continued to talk on, mildly indeed and gently, but cheerfully and winningly as usual.

"By the time we had reached the northern extremity of the new buildings that skirt the Bridge, he agreed to allow me to call a carriage for him. While I did so, he went into an adjoining shop to wait; and in order to reach it ascended a considerable flight of steps apparently without difficulty. On my return, I found him conversing with all his accustomed kindliness and affability with those in charge of the shop; nor do I suppose they could have suspected from his manner that there was anything whatever the matter with him.

* He felt, to use his own description as given to Dr. Begbie, as if instantaneously a large weight of books had been placed in one of the pockets of his great-coat, and so thrown him entirely to one side.

"I accompanied Dr. Chalmers home in the carriage to Forres Street. His manner was a little thoughtful, and subdued perhaps, but bland and cheerful. He directed the conversation altogether away from the subject of his own sensations, and talked of a variety of ordinary and indifferent matters. On reaching his house he kindly pressed me to enter and dine with him; but for obvious reasons I declined remaining at such a time."

"I found him," says his medical attendant, Dr. Begbie, who had been sent for, "in bed, calm, but impressed with the conviction that he was struck down by a formidable disease. His mind was quite entire; nor did it suffer in the least during the course of his illness. His speech was somewhat affected, his articulation imperfect. The muscles of the right side of the face were partially paralyzed; those of the arm and leg decidedly so. Sensation over the whole of the right side was much impaired, and particularly over the thigh and leg, which he continued to beat firmly with the left hand, in the hope, as he said, of recalling the banished sensation. The face was pale, the skin cool, the pulse soft and frequent. There was no headache or giddiness, nor any pain or uneasiness beyond what has been described. * * * The treatment varied in nothing from that usually pursued in such cases, moderate bleeding, diaphoretics, rest, quiet—in a word, the antiphlogistic plan. Under this ordeal he daily improved; sensation and motion were gradually restored, and, after a few weeks' confinement, he returned to his avocations, and engaged as heartily and laboriously as ever in his literary and professional duties."*

The following extracts from his correspondence with his colleague Dr. Welsh who had gone to Germany, with his brother James, and his sister Mrs. Morton, while giving the reader some idea of how the summer months of 1834 were filled

* See a most interesting pamphlet by James Begbie, M.D., F.R.S.E. Edinburgh: Sutherland & Knox. 1851.

up, will indicate the progress of his recovery and the impressions which his illness had produced:—

"*Penicuick, July 19th*, 1834.—MY DEAR SIR,—I am living here in great retirement and repose. I grew better in Fife, but lost ground when I returned to Edinburgh, first at the Synod, and then at the General Assembly. In May I spent a delicious fortnight with Mr. Duncan of St. Andrews, and came here in June. Dr. Begbie has interdicted all study, and I am making of my vacation one complete holiday. It remains yet to be seen whether or not my constitution has received a permanent shock. I take the shower-bath every morning; and though not free of unpleasant symptoms in my head, my muscular system is on the whole strengthened. I have had three dinners on the Pentlands since we came, and take pretty long rides and walks. My time is divided between Church Accommodation business and light reading. I have been much interested by Baillie's 'Letters,' 'Works of King Charles I.,' Napthali, D'Orleans' 'History of the Revolutions in England,' (a Jesuit version of our religious wars,) so that I have become much wiser than before in Home Church History. To complete my acquaintance with that remarkable period, I must read Charles Fox's 'History, and the Lives of Puritans.' There are certain analogies which serve strongly to impress the fear that we are now describing a revolutionary path.

"In Scripture criticism, next to Campbell's 'Preliminary Dissertations,' I have read nothing with so much satisfaction and interest as Bishop Horsley's 'Translation and Criticism of Hosea.' There is an admirable vigour and sense in this performance, and he has thrown great elucidation on the prophet. I mean to read more than hitherto both on Exegesis and Prophecy. I have mastered some standard works on the latter subject this year.*

* At the time of his appointment to the Divinity Chair in Edinburgh, Dr. Chalmers commenced a Theological Commonplace Book, in which, reading with

"I am quite satisfied with the information you have given me respecting the Poor-laws of Holland. Perhaps you could ascertain in the various towns that you pass through, whether the absence of a parochial system is quite general amongst them. It were a more difficult matter to ascertain the proportion of church-goers in any town to the whole population: but, perhaps, in some instances, you could obtain some approximation to this by means of the proportion between the number of churches and the whole population, and some general notion as to the capacity of these churches, and the degree in which they are attended.

pen in hand, he entered his critiques upon the volumes successively perused. In the period from 1828 to 1834, among the books read and reviewed are the following, Clarke's Demonstrations of the Being and Attributes of God—Leibnitz's Essais de Théodicée—Browne's Procedure, Extent, and Limits of the Human Understanding—Walton's Prolegomena—Campbell on Miracles—Le Bas on Miracles—Penrose on Miracles—Marsh's Lectures—Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism—Blomfield's Recensio Synoptica—Tomlin's Refutation of Calvinism—Hamilton on the Existence and Attributes of God—Boyle on Final Causes—La Place's Essay on Probabilities—Davison on Prophecy—Taylor on the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times—Taylor's Process of Historical Proof—Stuart's Translation of Ernesti—Whately's Logic—Halyburton on Deism—Baxter's Reformed Pastor—Wake's Apostolic Fathers—Sir Isaac Newton on Prophecy—O'Brien's Sermons on Justification, &c. Upon the books mentioned in his letter to Dr. Welsh, the following remarks are entered:—July 31st, read Baillie's Letters, a book of great interest; was revolted by his cruel levity in reference to the persecutions of Laud and Strafford. He allows that the presence of the Scottish army helped forward the acceptance of the Scottish Theology in Westminster. Much impressed with the ascendant might of Mr. Henderson, formerly minister of Leuchars.

"Horsley's Translation of Hosea with Notes. In his Preface, admirable for his deference to the authority of MSS., and distrust of conjectural emendations. * * * Admirable sense couched in language of great force and massiveness.

"D'Orleans' History of the Revolution in England, written with great vivacity, and more of graphical interest and power than any other historian I know of that period. Looked over King Charles's Works, and read the greater part of them. Much struck with the Eikon Basilike. * * * King Charles of much higher natural and literary talent than he obtains credit for. Mixed with his errors, there is much of sound and well principled conservatism."

It is proposed to insert the most important notices in Dr. Chalmers's Commonplace Book in a volume of Miscellanies and Correspondence, to be issued with or soon after the last volume of the "Memoirs."

"It is possible that the Continent is before us both in Church History and Exegesis. But I am inclined to think that we are before them not only in the Apologetical department, but also, and most important of all, in the Doctrinal. I speak of the present theologians of both countries, for I am aware of our vast obligations to men such as Turretin, Markius, *et id genus omne*. By the way, are these men still held in estimation and studied in Germany? And can you tell me if Alstedius be known or is of reputation amongst them? In regard to the connexion between an erudite Scripture criticism and a sound theology, I feel very sure that there does obtain a subtle delusion which one cannot well advert to without seeming to depreciate the former. This is not the place for dilating or entering deeply into the subject. But I would ask whether the theology of Jonathan Edwards is not marked by great talent and profoundness and correctness withal, and yet he does not seem to have been indebted for it to knowledge or skill in Exegesis. I verily believe that many a ploughman in Scotland is a juster, and I will add a deeper theologian, than many a biblist in Germany. We have examples, too, in England, of a very meagre theology, combined with a great taste and talent both for the investigations of Scripture criticism. The truth is, that those textual difficulties, the treatment of which requires the most arduous and elaborate criticism for their solution, generally relate to such matters as do not enter into the staple or substance of systematic theology at all; insomuch that I do not acquiesce in the maxim without great and important modifications being laid upon it, that '*Bonus textuarius est bonus theologus.*' The respective functions, in fact, of the critic and theologian are not generally understood; and I should really like you to observe, particularly of those eminent men whom you have met with, or may still meet during the remainder of your stay in Germany—

those of them I mean who are in the highest reputation for their exegetical skill—how much or how little either their intellects are occupied and stored, or their hearts impressed with what is of greatest worth and greatest weight in the subject-matter of Christianity. You will, perhaps, also be able to collect some additions to the interesting facts you already possess in regard to the decay of Rationalism, and the growth of Evangelism on the Continent.

"Yet most earnest I am for a far higher Scripture criticism than is known or cultivated in Scotland. Without it a church is wanting in a most essential equipment for the defence of truth against heresy. On this ground it is invaluable, nay indispensable, and then only should its arrogance be withstood when it claims, as it pedantically and presumptuously has been known to do, to be in possession of a cipher by which to unlock hidden mysteries, and mightily to enrich and enlarge the theology of our land.

"The only ecclesiastical news of Edinburgh which I can think of at present, is that A., C., and M., seem alike bent on the destruction of the endowments, which also, in point of fact, are lessening spontaneously by the non-levying of them, insomuch that the whole sum raised does not amount now to £400 a-year for each of the clergymen. This is very bad; and the only set over to this in favour of our Church, is the more quickened zeal of its friends in all quarters who are coming forward in a very promising way for her endowment. I propose in my own immediate sphere to transfer my operations from the Cowgate to the Water of Leith, the former being as good as knocked on the head by the practical rejection of it on the part of the Town-Council, in the appointment of a colleague to Dr. Macknight as successor to Dr. Brown. I am not without hope of raising a parochial economy within the Water of Leith, by means chiefly of the subscribers whom I had

gotten for the other, and who are now emancipated from that engagement. But what is of far more general importance than this local object, you are perhaps aware that the General Assembly Committee on Church Accommodation has been renewed, and I have been appointed the convener thereof. It gives me easy occupation, which is the best thing for me at present, and interesting correspondence and converse with the most active philanthropists of the land. Mr. Robert Buchanan of the Tron Church, Glasgow, has just been with me on the subject, and Mr. Collins is with me now. I am giving the utmost encouragement to local efforts for local and separate objects; but over and above this, we have commenced subscriptions for a general fund, which I hold to be still in its infancy, though amounting to £1677, 10s. They are coming in gradually. But I have begun with the higher kind of game, such as dukes and marquises, &c., intending to come down to parochial penny-a-week associations; and such is my estimation of the superior productiveness of the latter, that ten times rather than have what all the dukes of Scotland could afford me, I would have what all the ditchers of Scotland could afford me. And if the pecuniary effect of these general organizations be so great, the moral effect is beyond all computation valuable. Every man whom you enlist as a penny-a-week subscriber to the cause, you also convert or confirm into a decided friend of the Church of Scotland.

"*N.B.*—There is one thing I should like if you could do: make a list of the actual achievements in Scripture criticism of those who are most eminent in Germany at present. I mean of the changes or improvements which have been soundly and decisively established by them, and then let us try to compute the *doctrinal amount* of all that has been done by them.

"I rejoice in the idea of your enriching your course next

winter by the fruits of this journey.—With God's best blessings on you all, I am, my dear Sir, yours most truly,

"To the Rev. Dr. Welsh." THOMAS CHALMERS.

"*Edinburgh, February 14th*, 1834.—MY DEAR JAMES,—I received your letter of kind inquiry. I am thankful to say, that, though still in the weakness of a convalescent state, I am gradually regaining strength. I have resumed my chief duties, and am not the worse of it; but I feel the soundness of your advice in regard to any extra work, and more particularly the fatigues of controversy, respecting which I must observe a restrained and regulated system of exertion in all time coming.

"Our sentiments quite accord on the subject of a religious establishment. It was in defence of this against our reform magistracy that I incurred an illness of rather a threatening aspect at one time. May these premonitions of our frailty have the effect of shutting us more up unto the faith of Him who came to destroy death, and who alone hath the words and alone hath the gift of life everlasting. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Penicuick, June 24th*, 1834.—MY DEAREST JANE,*—The doctor prescribes for me one continued holiday all summer, and I mean as much as possible to take his advice. It were well if, in this season of exemption from all strenuous effort, I could find my rest and refuge in God, as the strength of my heart and everlasting portion—having whom all the enjoyments of a world that passeth away might be renounced without a pang. —I am, my dearest Jane, yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

* Dr. Chalmers's letters to his sister, Mrs. Morton, from the year 1823 downwards to this date, have been unwillingly omitted in the present volume. They will be given hereafter in the volume of Miscellanies and Correspondence referred to in a preceding note.

"*Penicuick, August 25th*, 1834.—MY DEAREST JANE,—I am grieved to observe by your letter of the 10th, that you have suffered so much lately from ill health. Any peculiar symptoms which I feel are on the right of my head and side; but of late I have become more confident of a full recovery, and do feel that this holiday summer which I have spent, with its exemption from fatigue and care, has been of great use to me.

"I am much interested by your aspirations after a nearer conformity to the image of the Saviour, and I desire fully to sympathize with them. It is well to look unto Him as our example, as well as look unto Him as our propitiation. I hold it a remarkable expression and a remarkable coincidence, that in both of these capacities he is said to be *set forth* to us, and set forth by God. What a two-fold power of comfort and of direction there is in this; and if we give earnest heed unto Him in the aspects under which He is set forth unto us, we may rest assured of the promise given to those who hunger and thirst after righteousness, even that they shall be filled.—I am, my dearest Jane, yours most affectionately,—THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Burntisland, December 27th*, 1834.—MY DEAREST JANE,—I have come here for a few days during our Christmas vacation; and I gladly avail myself of my first country holiday to answer your affectionate letter of inquiry.

"I have been engaged in class-work for six weeks, and have acquitted myself of it greatly beyond my anticipations. I am much thinner, being now 168 pounds' weight, whereas I at one time was 205; but muscularly I am as strong as ever; and as to my head symptoms, noise, hissing, pulsations, accompanied with numbness in my extremities, although they continued with me till within these few days, I am marvellously free of them since I left Edinburgh.

"As to my being a Tory, I am certainly a Conservative,

though not in the party, but in the general and ordinary sense of the term. I believe that under our late Government the country was drifting fast into a state of anarchy; and I fear that our present administration forms in all human likelihood the last barrier—may it be an effectual one—against a tremendous civil war.

"But to pass to more satisfactory topics. Have you read Owen on the 130th Psalm? This is my last great work; and I would strongly recommend it as eminently conducive to our establishment in that way, which is at once a way of peace and of holiness.

"With best compliments to all, I am, my dearest Jane, yours most truly and affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

For a single fortnight during the summer of 1834, Dr. Chalmers resumed his Journal, from which we take the following extracts:—

"*June 9th*, 1834.—A long intermission; an arrest laid on me on the 23d of January last; fears of an apoplectic tendency; see things I imagine through a medium of haze and twilight more than I wont. It is my desire to prepare for eternity; and if imagination and sensibility decay I desire that intellect, and still more that principle, should have the entire possession and ascendency over me. Have come to Penicuick, and desire to cultivate a walk with God.

"*June 19th*.—Try to be as objective as possible. Let me think much, and at all times, on the truth of God, the death and righteousness of Christ, the sufficiency and freeness of the Spirit. Let me interchange prayer and watchfulness, and so maintain communion with God all the day long.

"*June 11th*.—Let me prosecute my sanctification, confidently knowing that it is well-pleasing to God.

"*June 12th*.—I want habitual solemnization. O my God,

give me wisdom in regard to Mr. A., whose political elevation bodes disastrously for our Church.

"*June* 13*th.*—Considerable and constant noise in my head.

"*Sunday, June* 15*th.*—Read 'Horsley on Hosea.'

"*June* 18*th.*—Better. O my God, when in solitude may I diligently observe the First, when in society, the Second Law.

"*June* 19*th.*—My reading at present is Baillie's 'Letters.'

"*June* 20*th.*—A second suspicious visitation. Sent for Dr. Begbie, who orders an entire cessation of study

"*June* 24*th.*—Studying little. O my God, take Thy place in my heart."

CHAPTER XXI.

MISSIONARY OPERATIONS IN THE "WATER OF LEITH" VILLAGE—PROPOSAL OF A NEW CHURCH IN THE COWGATE—THE CHURCH BUILDING SOCIETY OF GLASGOW—ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH EXTENSION SCHEME OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY—THE PROSPECT OF A GRANT FROM GOVERNMENT—OPPOSITION OF THE DISSENTERS—APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY—LETTERS TO LORD MELBOURNE—THE DEAN OF FACULTY VOLUNTEERS HIS OPINION AND ADVICE.

THE suburban village of the Water of Leith lay near the place of Dr. Chalmers's residence in Edinburgh. At the time of the cholera its inhabitants had signalized themselves by the grossness of their misconduct. From a survey taken by visitation from house to house, it appeared that out of a population of 1356, only 143 had taken seats in any place of worship. With the aid of a few friends, Dr. Chalmers provided a missionary for this district, preparatory to the erection of a church and parish. This missionary commenced his labours in November 1833, and half-a-year's daily household ministrations were repaid by the attendance upon Sabbath of a congregation of between three and four hundred, the majority of whom had been utter strangers to the ordinances of the Gospel. This promising enterprise had the benefit of Dr. Chalmers's personal superintendence, and while it was so favourably proceeding, his eye was turned upon another inviting field of labour. In their conferences with the clergymen the Town-Council had put the question, whether the Presbytery would

give its consent to the uncollegiating of the five parishes which enjoyed a double ministry? This consent the Presbytery expressed its readiness to grant, upon condition that the city should be divided into eighteen instead of thirteen parishes, each parish to have a minister of its own. The Council's object had been by uncollegiating the double charges to reduce the number of ministers from eighteen to thirteen. It was found, however, that they had not the power to carry their purpose into effect; and, as in two of these collegiate parishes there was at this time a vacancy, an opportunity was presented to the Corporation, by acceding to the Presbytery's suggestion, of affording to the city the benefit of increased parochial agency. The only reason why any Council friendly to the Church should refuse to do so, was the burden which the erection of new churches would lay upon the funds of the Corporation. Dr. Chalmers interposed to relieve the Council of this difficulty. Thirty individuals were induced by him to subscribe £100 each for the erection of a church in the Cowgate, one of the most destitute sections of the old town, upon these conditions:—That the parish allotted to the new minister should not contain more than 2500 souls; that a rigid preference in the seat-letting should be given to those residing within the parish; that the seat-rents should never be raised higher than to yield when the church was fully occupied six per cent. on the original outlay; that in the first instance, and till all the seats were let, the management of the church's affairs should be in the hands of the subscribers, who should submit to any risk and loss that might occur during the earlier stages of the operation; but that whenever, after paying some necessary expenses, it had reached the point of yielding four per cent. to the subscribers, the option should be given to the Corporation to take it off their hands. This scheme was framed to secure for the Cowgate a church whose sittings should be so

cheap as to be accessible to the whole of its inhabitants; and whose minister, endowed out of the Annuity-tax, and having a small enough parish assigned to him, might be able to devote the whole of his time to strictly parochial labours. An opportunity was thus offered to the Corporation, without risk or cost, of conferring a great religious benefit upon a degraded and neglected district. The proposal, however, met with a dubious reception at the Council Board. It would be adding a new parish, and virtually a new minister, to the Establishment; it would be erecting a church which, however popular the minister, could never add by its high seat-rents to the city revenue; and if the project was successful, it would be affording the evidence of experience in favour of Dr. Chalmers's great argument, that it was by endowed churches, with small parishes and cheap seat-rents, that the outcast population could alone be extensively recovered from irreligion and crime.

While this proposal was kept in abeyance, to be at last virtually rejected by the civic authorities of Edinburgh, another proposal emanated from a few public-spirited citizens of Glasgow, which was destined to strike the key-note of one of the greatest and most successful enterprises upon which Dr. Chalmers ever embarked. Early in 1834, Mr. Collins, at once the originator and chief agent in the accomplishment of the scheme, issued a proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow. Thirteen years had passed since Dr. Chalmers made the same proposal, and in making it had been smiled at as a visionary. But his eight years' labours in that city had borne good fruit; and now, by a select company of her merchants, abounding in wisdom and wealth as well as in Christian zeal, the suggestion of 1817 was renewed. Mr. Collins, however, had remarked that two great checks had hitherto restrained the extension of the Scottish Establishment. Till a church was fully endowed and had a

parish attached to it, the ecclesiastical courts had refused to admit its minister to the full status and privileges of his profession. He was not allowed a seat in the Presbytery, or in any other of the Church courts, nor could he have a kirk-session of his own to aid him in his ministerial work, and to administer discipline in his congregation. Such besides was the existing law of patronage, that when any place of worship was converted into a parish church, the patron of the original parish from which its district was detached could claim the right of presentation. On the one hand, a minister bereft of a kirk-session, and dependent wholly on seat-rents, was enfeebled if not incapacitated for that kind of ministry which the necessities of the country specially required; while, on the other hand, private beneficence was not likely to step in and endow, if, as the first-fruits of its endowment, the patronage passed into other—it might be into indifferent or hostile hands. To make room for the Church's effective expansion, two hindrances, the one legal, the other ecclesiastical, had to be taken out of the way; nor did Mr. Collins and his friends propose to raise any money, or build any churches, till both these hindrances were set aside. It was twenty *parochial* churches that they desired to erect, whose ministers should enjoy the full powers and privileges of the other clergymen of the Establishment, and the right to elect whom, exercised in the first instance by the subscribers, should afterwards devolve upon the communicants of the different congregations. Happily within a few months from the first broaching of their noble scheme both the existing obstacles were removed. Mr. Colquhoun's bill, passed in the summer of 1834, relieved all newly created parishes from the claim to the patronage, vested previously in the patron of the original parish; and an Act of the Assembly 1834, admitted all the existing chapel ministers to the full status of the parochial clergy, and left the same open door for all the minis-

ters who should be ordained over new charges. The ground being thus cleared for its operations, the Church Building Society of Glasgow was organized. It had resolved to take no active step in the furtherance of its object till £20,000 had been subscribed, and before the month of October that sum was realized. Hand in hand with Dr. Chalmers as he followed out his wider enterprise, Mr. Collins and his friends prosecuted their great local object, and in 1841 they had the satisfaction of seeing their twentieth church completed.

The movement in Glasgow, commenced in the spring of 1834, stimulated and encouraged the General Assembly of that year to make a great public effort for the extension of the Church. Since the days of the Reformation, the population of Scotland had more than doubled itself; yet the number of churches and parishes had not increased. To maintain the same relative amount of religious instruction, fourteen hundred churches and ministers should have been added; while, taking into full account all that had been done by Dissenters, not more than half of the necessary increase had taken place. Had the population expanded equably, great religious destitution must have occurred. But instead of such expansion, in manufacturing districts, and especially in the large towns, there had been a disproportional and enormous growth, which, unmet by a correspondent increase of ministerial oversight, presented large masses of the community sunk into practical heathenism. His own personal surveys in the Tron parish had satisfied Dr. Chalmers that of the working-classes generally not one-half attended church, while large and crowded districts existed, in which not above one-eighth had sittings in any place of worship, or made any profession of Christianity. Ever since these memorable surveys, when the fearful extent of this growing evil revealed itself, he had not ceased to labour for its removal. But the Church was slow to move. In 1828, a Committee of the

General Assembly was appointed, which endeavoured to discharge its duties by making repeated applications to the Government; but year after year the successive reports of this Committee were but renewed announcements that nothing had been done. At length, roused from its lethargy, and quickened to a livelier sense of duty, the General Assembly of 1834—an Assembly memorable as the one from which we date the brief but glorious period of evangelical ascendency—in re-appointing its Committee on Church Accommodation, and in furnishing it with new powers and new instructions, adopted the best security for making its labours effective by placing Dr. Chalmers at its head. The Assembly had scarcely dissolved when, summoning together the large and influential Committee of which he had been appointed convener, Dr. Chalmers addressed them thus:—

"You are aware, gentlemen, that our Committee have been in existence since 1828, and that its efforts hitherto have been directed to the object of obtaining the aid of our Government in support of its great design, which is to provide a more adequate church accommodation for the people, who have vastly outgrown the means of Christian instruction that already exist within the Establishment. These efforts have as yet been wholly unsuccessful; and though we do not abandon all hopes of assistance, even from that quarter, yet, in terms of the excellent Report given a few days ago to the Assembly, and by them unanimously approved of, it is our opinion that no further delay should be incurred, but that we should throw ourselves, and our cause, with all its recommendations, instantly on the liberality of the Christian public, and more especially on the friends of the Establishment throughout Scotland. I confess that I am sanguine of the result, and shall feel it a sacred duty to do my uttermost for speeding and prospering it forward. The General Assembly has placed us in a most

advantageous position, having conferred on us powers co-ordinate with those exercised by the Committee for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts and for Education at Home; and having further enjoined all the ministers of the Church to take measures for collecting at the church doors, and furthering subscriptions, in order to carry the wishes of the Assembly into effect. In appointing me convener of the Assembly's Committee for such a high object of Christian patriotism, I can truly affirm, that had I been left to make a choice among the count less diversities of well-doing, this is the one office that I should have selected as the most congenial to my taste, and the most fitted, by the high sense which I have of its importance, for commanding the devotion of all my powers to it. Should God be pleased to grant me health I shall henceforth consecrate much of my time and of my thoughts to the fulfilment of the high duties which the Assembly has devolved upon me; nor can I regard it as otherwise than a gracious Providence, that after having been unhinged, enfeebled, and well-nigh overborne in an arduous conflict with those who would despoil our beloved Church of her endowments, and abridge the number of her ministers, I should now be called upon, in the hour of my returning strength, to hold pacific counsel with her friends, to breathe a kindlier atmosphere in the midst of her warm and willing supporters, corresponding henceforth with the men whose bland and beneficent liberalities will enable us to enlarge her means and multiply her labourers, instead of maintaining, as heretofore, a weary struggle with the men whose unhallowed hands are lifted up against our Zion, to mutilate and to destroy her.

"I have only to add, gentlemen, that I trust the Committee will not relax in its exertions, and not relinquish them, even though it should require the perseverance of a whole generation, till we have made it a sufficiently thick-set Establishment,

and brought it into a state of full equipment—till churches have been so multiplied, and parochial charges so subdivided, that there will not one poor family be found in our land who might not, if they will, have entry and accommodation in a place of worship and religious instruction, with such a share in the personal attentions of the clergyman as to claim him for an acquaintance and a friend."

These were not vain words. At the first meeting of the acting Sub-Committee, held on the 6th June, Dr. Chalmers submitted a draft of a circular for distribution among the clergy, which, slightly modified, was to serve also for circulation among the laity. This circular was approved—ordered to be printed; and before the first month of the Committee's existence had closed, the spirit-stirring summons, inviting all classes to join in one great effort on behalf of Church Extension, was on its way to the remotest corners of the land. The Church of Scotland had been attacked, maligned, condemned as worse than useless. To labour with new-born vigour in the blessed work of reclaiming those outcasts for whose souls no man had been caring, this was to be her method of defence; and the guiding of many a wanderer's footsteps back into the forsaken sanctuary, this was to be her revenge.

"This," said Dr. Chalmers, in closing his appeal, "is an age of hostility to endowments by the State, and our great dependence, under Heaven, for the fuller equipment of our Church, is on the endowments of Christian charity. The spoliators of our Establishment are on the wing, and their unhallowed hands are already lifted up to mutilate and to destroy. But if supported as we ought, the benefactors of our Establishment will greatly outnumber and overmatch them. In that mighty host of aliens from the lessons and ordinances of the Gospel, who are still unreached and unreclaimed, we behold full demonstration of the impotency of what is commonly termed the Voluntary

system. It is now for the Church to bestir herself, and put forth her own peculiar energies and resources in the work of calling in these helpless outcasts; and in proportion to our success shall we earn for the cause of religious establishments the friendship of the wise and the good, the support of every honest and enlightened patriot.

"In advocating this cause we need be at no loss for the materials of a most pathetic appeal to the sympathies of the truly religious. For we can tell them of the spiritual destitution of many thousands of the families of Scotland: we can tell of their week-day profligacy and Sabbath profanation. Even to the mere politician and worldly philanthropist we can address the argument that a depraved commonalty is the teeming source of all moral and political disorder, and the fearful presage, if not speedily averted by an efficient system of Christian instruction, of a sweeping anarchy and great national overthrow. But it is when pleading for the claims and the interests of so many imperishable spirits that we are on our best, our firmest vantage-ground; and when assailing the consciences of the pious and the good, by the affecting representation of a multitude in our own land, whom no man has yet numbered, who are strangers even to the message of the New Testament—of that still greater multitude who, with an eternity wholly unprovided for, live in irreligion and die in apathy or despair."

To printed circulars Dr. Chalmers added innumerable private letters, addressed to the most influential laymen and clergymen of Scotland. As specimens of these we subjoin the following:—

"To the Duke of Buccleuch.

"My Lord Duke,—I should not have adventured to obtrude the accompanying representation on the notice of your Grace,

had it not been for my urgent sense of the importance of its object.

"The Church of Scotland has now resolved to make a vigorous effort for the extension of herself, so as, if possible, to overtake the religious wants of our vastly increased population.

"It is but a very small fraction of the unprovided surplus that has been met by the dissenters, not from the want of zeal in their ministers, and not in general from any substantial difference or defect in their Theology; but from their want of a parochial system, and the heavy expense to which the families of the working-classes are exposed, when out of their own means they have both to erect a place for worship and to maintain a clergyman.

"The object of the Assembly's Church Accommodation Scheme is to subdivide the overpeopled parishes, and erect within each of the new localities which shall thus be formed, an economical church, whose sittings may be held forth at such a low rent as might admit of a general attendance from those of the humblest classes of society, and thus afford a cheap Christian education to that immense number of our people who are now living in a state of exile from all the decencies and observances of a Christian land.

"Our main confidence for a prosperous result is, under the blessing of Heaven, in the conscientious and devoted assiduities of those who may be appointed to the charge of the newly formed parishes, each maintaining a moral guardianship over the families of his own territory, and plying them with such attentions both of common and Christian kindness, as all experience attests to be the most effectual for humanizing a now outlandish, because now and of necessity a sadly neglected population.

"Let me state as an additional ground of encouragement, that never, perhaps, in the history of our Church was there a

greater promise of success from the number of talented and well-disposed licentiates, alive to the great moral necessities of our land, and resolved to enter with the full consecration of their powers and opportunities on that high walk of philanthropy, whose object is to reclaim those degenerate outcasts who have so multiplied in thousands and tens of thousands beyond the means of Christian instruction, means which have remained stationary during two centuries of rapid progression both in wealth and numbers, or which rather have been abridged on the whole during that period by the annexation and suppression of parishes.

"It may be proper to state, that by a recent Act of Parliament the heritors of Scotland are fully protected from any legal obligations that might otherwise have been consequent on the erection of new parish churches; and that this precious interest has altogether devolved on the liberality of the patriotic and good in all classes of society.

"I feel the more emboldened to address your Grace upon this subject, from the conviction that a generous sacrifice on the part of the affluent, not for the temporal necessities, but for the moral culture and moral wellbeing of the poor, beside yielding a substantial repayment in the arrest that would thus be laid both on pauperism and crime, would serve more effectually than any other expedient, in these days of distemper and menace, to re-unite the various orders of the State into a harmonious and pacific understanding with each other.

"Among all the schemes which are now afloat for the amelioration of society, it should never be forgotten that there is no specific so powerful against all moral and all political disorders as the Christian instruction of the people, and that a well-principled commonalty is the soundest foundation on which to rear the strength and prosperity of the kingdom.

"The subscriptions for this great cause have only com-

menced; and in the name of the Assembly's Committee I have now to request your Grace's countenance and aid in behalf of the undertaking.

"It would greatly enhance the obligation of your Grace's reply, if it could be made as early as your perfect convenience will allow. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"TO THE REV. JOHN COOK, LAURENCEKIRK.

"By this time I trust that you may have had put into your hand by the Clerk of the Presbytery a copy of our Church circular, as well as the last year's Report of our Committee on Church Accommodation, along with the deliverance thereupon of the last General Assembly.

"The document I now send may be denominated our *lay circular*, being nothing else than the Church circular slightly transformed. You will greatly oblige us if you can obtain subscriptions by means of it, either from your parochial or personal acquaintances.

"And perhaps you would let me know whether you would like to have more copies of this paper, in which case you will have the goodness to point out the best channel for their conveyance to you. Perhaps, also, you might be able to suggest to me the names of those gentlemen in your neighbourhood whom it might be advantageous to interest in the cause by means of a direct application from our Committee, though I have no doubt that in the great majority of instances your own personal influence, or that of acquaintances on the spot, would prove greatly more effective.

"I shall esteem it a great farther service to the cause, if you would have the goodness to propose it at an early meeting as the subject in some way or other of your Presbytery's sanction and recommendation. A collection in all the parish churches within your bounds would be a great help to us; and it will

be for you to consider whether over and above this a presbyterial association might not be attempted. It were also of great importance in the way of influence and example, that whatever public step is taken by you in our favour, should be made the subject of an article or notice in a newspaper.

"But whatever difficulties may be in the way of a presbyterial association, there should be none in the way of separate parochial and local associations, each under the direct management and care of the individuals best qualified either to head or to conduct the operation.

"It is quite marvellous in the organization of any system of means, how much subdivision adds both to its productiveness and its efficacy. Let us never forget that a penny a week from each household of Scotland would afford the yearly sum of a hundred thousand pounds.

"Should you have local wants of your own to provide for—should you labour under a deficiency of Church Accommodation in your own neighbourhood—this circumstance will give tenfold interest and effect to the local efforts of your own immediate association. Be assured, that however much we should wish to augment our general fund, we shall most scrupulously abstain from attempting it at the expense of that mighty advantage which an intense local feeling, when directed to local purposes, furnishes to the cause. The very design of our fund is, not to disturb or supersede these local efforts, but stimulate them to the uttermost; and we should ever regard it as the most profitable application of our means, when employed in further helping those who have previously made the greatest effort in helping themselves.

"It will be for you to decide according to your own circumstances, whether the produce of any such separate association as you may succeed in establishing shall be reserved for your own special wants, or be remitted to us, or be shared between both.

"There is one circumstance which more than any other endears those minuter associations to my regard. They descend and ramify throughout the general mass of the population; and the moral effect of this is incalculable. Every man whom you succeed in gaining as a penny a week contributor to our cause, you will succeed in confirming as a friend to the Church of Scotland. The principle of fidelity to our Establishment is strengthened by this new exercise and application of it; and in these times I know not a wiser policy than that by which you interest the great bulk of our families in behalf of the venerable Establishment of our beloved land.

"To conclude, though I have proposed the three distinct expedients of an individual subscription, and a church collection, and an organized association, it will be found, that so far from conflicting, they might operate most harmoniously together, and with great mutual advantage, each coming into contact with distinct objects and resources of its own beyond the reach of the others, and which they would fail to overtake.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

Early in July a deputation went to London to procure from the Government a small endowment for each of the churches that had recently been, and for all that should afterwards be added to the Establishment. Dr. Chalmers was most anxious that this application should be made in such a way as to make it manifest what the Church's real object in asking these endowments was. Unable to join the deputation, he sent the following letter to one of its members:—

"TO CHAS. FERGUSON, Esq.

"*July 2d*, 1834.

"DEAR SIR,—I very much regret that I am prevented by the state of my health from accompanying you on your important mission to London. I hold it of great importance, that if

a grant be obtained, it shall be accompanied with such conditions as may at once make plain both to Government and the public the main objects of the grant, and this will best justify both the measure itself and our application for it.

"The chief object then, and let this stand palpably forth, and be expressly provided for in the constitution of the grant—is a cheap Christian education for the common people. Now a simple and unqualified grant does not secure this object. It may secure an additional hundred a year to each of our present unendowed ministers. But it is of the utmost importance its being distinctly understood, that an appetency for this addition to their income is not in truth the animating principle either of their or our application. For this hundred a year, or whatever the allowance shall be, there should be the stipulation of a *quid pro quo*. It ought to be given on the part of Government in return for such a regulation of the seat-rents as shall make the means of Christian instruction accessible to the great mass of the community. We want our present unendowed ministers to obtain £100 a year each; but for that they should be required to give up their present high seat-rents.

"The grants, so far from enriching, would, at this rate, make some of them poorer than they are at present. But this cannot be helped. The character of your application, be it known to all, is not a personal but a public and patriotic one; it being for a boon, not to the ministers of our unendowed churches, but for a boon to the plebeian families of their parishes. This furnishes the principle of the first article or condition which is specified below.

"But there is a second condition nearly as indispensable as the first one; and that is, that a preference for the sittings shall be given to those who reside within the parish of the newly endowed church—this preference at the terms stipulated

for, when the endowment was made in favour of the church, becoming the permanent and inalienable right of the parishioners. Without this provision the church might be filled by people at all distances from without the parish, allured perhaps from their more expensive meeting-houses to a church with low-rented sittings. But in this way there would be no increase in the amount of Christian instruction in the country, but only a transference of hearers from one place to another—a building up of new at the expense of old congregations. It would but make a new distribution of hearers among people who already hear somewhere. But the great thing wanted is, that the thousands now living in practical heathenism, and who at present hear nowhere, shall be reclaimed to the decencies of a Christian land; and this can only be done by planting churches with low seat-rents in the midst of these people, giving them a preference above all others to the sittings in their own local churches, and making it the distinct business of the newly endowed ministers, each to cultivate, and as much as possible confine himself to the households of his own assigned locality. In this way altogether new ground will be entered upon; a real movement in advance will be made among a heretofore neglected population. Christian instruction will be let down to the poorest of our families; and our Establishment, if extended in this way, will become, and at a very cheap rate, an effective home-mission in favour of those whose thorough moral and Christian education, both piety and the public good so loudly demand.

"The third condition, if it could be obtained, would prove an inestimable moral blessing to Scotland, and earn for Government the lasting gratitude of her people. It is that the grant, of say £100 a year, should be extended to all the churches of new parishes that may hereafter be erected. On the one hand it would be the means of ultimately making our

Church commensurate to our population; while, on the other hand, the increase of these churches would proceed gently and gradually, and without any immediate, or even after the process was completed, without any great or sensible pressure. I suppose the churches to be erected at the expense of individuals, and the endowment sought for to be provided by Government; a security, therefore, that the claim will never be preferred until a great previous sacrifice has been incurred—the best proof for the existence of the great and real necessity which demanded it. The success of your application will not supersede the efforts of our Church Accommodation Committee, but loudly call for the renewal and continuance of them, it being our distinct office to erect those churches, the eventual endowments of which shall have thus been provided for. THOMAS CHALMERS."

The deputation presented a memorial to Lord Melbourne, in which the suggestions of this letter were kept carefully in view. Its reception was of the most gratifying character. Immediately after his interview with the deputation, and in presenting some petitions on patronage, the Lord Chancellor said, in the House of Lords, "That it was impossible for him to close the few remarks he meant to make on these petitions without drawing their Lordships' attention to a communication he had received from the moderator and a deputation from the General Assembly, which was most worthy of their attention." After stating at considerable length the nature and extent of the religious destitution existing in Scotland, and referring to the manner in which it was proposed to meet this evil, his Lordship added,—"To what extent his noble friend at the head of the Government would listen to the prayer of the General Assembly he could not tell, but he hoped that the representation made by that body would be seriously attended to" A few days afterwards, the moderator, Dr. Macfarlan, writes:—

"The M.P.'s say that our reception by the two ministers (Lords Melbourne and Althorpe) was most encouraging. Lord Melbourne's answer was that Ministers would take the subject into their serious consideration. I have called on several persons since—the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Charles Grant, Mr. Stuart M'Kenzie, and Sir Robert Peel. The last two I saw, and had a most encouraging reception from both. Mr. M'Kenzie does not think that we shall have a grant this session, but seems to entertain no doubt of our ultimate success, and will support us zealously. Mr. P. Stewart continues to exert himself with his first ardour. He is to wait upon Lord Althorpe, with one or two members, in a few days, and to press upon him the importance of the object and the expediency of an immediate grant, or at least of an immediate declaration of his sentiments in our favour. On the whole, I leave London to-night in as good spirits as when we had our interview with the Chancellor."

But the session was too far advanced, and the question was adjourned; with the liveliest hope, however, that early in the ensuing session the grant would be obtained. That hope lost nothing of its strength when, in the month of November, the ministry of Lord Melbourne gave place to that of Sir Robert Peel. The friendly intentions of the new Government were at once announced to Dr. Chalmers through the Lord Advocate, Sir William Rae.* That it might be strengthened in carrying these intentions into effect every effort was put forth to secure Parliamentary support. Letters were addressed to each Member of the new Parliament, containing the outline of a scheme similar to that suggested in the memorial to Lord Melbourne, and petitions numerously signed were ready to be presented. The new Parliament met in February 1835, and in the King's speech a paragraph of happy omen appeared:—"I feel it also incumbent on me to call your earnest attention to the condition

* See an important correspondence between them in Appendix II.

of the Church of Scotland, and to the means by which it may be enabled to increase the opportunities of religious worship for the poorer classes of society in that part of the United Kingdom." As he read this paragraph Dr. Chalmers rejoiced in hope. That favourite project which he had cherished for nearly twenty years, which the General Assembly had so recently sanctioned, and which the country was so warmly taking up, was crowned with the royal approval. His first year of effort had not closed, and yet all his brightest anticipations seemed on the edge of fulfilment.

But he was doomed to disappointment. This quick progress with the country and with the Government of the Church Extension cause had been watched by the jealous eye of an enemy not likely to let the goal be reached without a deadly struggle. It was galling certainly to those who, full of hope, had a year or two before entered upon a crusade against all religious endowments, to find that instead of the old ones being abolished new ones were likely to be created. It was galling to think that efforts intended to cripple or crush the Church were to end in widening her sphere and increasing her influence. Besides, if churches with cheap sittings, such as Dr. Chalmers projected, were to be multiplied over the country, though the destitute might be reached thereby, dissent must suffer. There burst, therefore, upon the Church Extension cause a storm of opposition, charged with the most fiery elements. The Voluntary controversy, not destitute of sufficient acrimony on either side, or at any stage, took suddenly a new form, and presented features of aggravated virulence. Meetings innumerable were held, sermons were preached, pamphlets were published, the ear of public men was dunned, and Parliament was assailed with petitions against the intended grant. It was a fit occasion, certainly, for a great struggle to be made by those who conscientiously believed the State's endowment

of the Church to be both unjust and injurious. But the petitioners who approached the House of Commons with their remonstrances should not have assured the Parliament, that while "the avowed object of Dr. Chalmers's scheme was the supplying with religious instruction those of our countrymen who are destitute of them, the scarcely concealed design of this measure was the annihilation of dissent." The Central Board of Scottish Dissenters, with the plain proof to the contrary before them,* should not have charged the Church Extension Committee with omitting all reference to their labours; they should not have inflamed the public mind by holding out the alarming prospect of seven millions of the public money being required to carry out the Assembly's measures; and, above all, in order to make out their broad conclusion, that enough, and more than enough, of Church accommodation was already provided in Scotland, they should not have abridged the neces-

* "Your memorialists do not wish to overlook the exertions of those who separate themselves from the Established Church on conscientious grounds, and they willingly acknowledge that to them the public have in many instances been indebted for a large supply of accommodation in their different places of worship.

"Your memorialists trust that it will be borne in mind that they only ask an endowment to provide in part a stipend to the ministers of such churches *as shall be erected by voluntary contributions*, and recognised as necessary by the Ecclesiastical Courts. In this way, while the liberality of the Christian people will be excited, it will never exceed the wants which call it forth; and your memorialists will most cheerfully concur in any arrangements that may be made in order to provide against any risk of abuse, and, above all, to secure that sufficient accommodation be afforded in the churches endowed to the poorest classes in the community."—Memorial of the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, and other Members of a Deputation from the General Assembly, unto the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Melbourne, and the other members of his Majesty's Government. July 23, 1834.

"It does add to the completeness of our statistics when we thus embrace the ecclesiastical fabrics which have been raised by the worshippers of all denominations.

"It is of capital importance that the inquiry should not be confined to worshippers in the Establishment alone, but should extend to the worshippers of all denominations."—See Circular respecting the Statistics of Church-Accommodation. November 13, 1834.

sary quantity by cutting off that class—"the avowedly irreligious,"—the recovery of which it was notoriously the aim at least of Dr. Chalmers's scheme to accomplish.* The favourite argument of the dissenters was drawn from the unlet and unoccupied pews in the churches of the Establishment; and the favourite instance by which this argument was illustrated and enforced was the condition of the Church in Edinburgh. It was well fitted to make an impression on the country to announce that more than one-third of the whole sittings in the Establishment were unlet, and that out of a population in the old town of 28,196, only 727 individuals attended in the parish churches. Out of such materials a specious argument could be constructed, convincing enough to those who fancied that the erection of additional churches was the sole or main object at which Dr. Chalmers aimed; for why add more church-room when so much of that already existing was unoccupied, or why build new churches when so many of the old ones were half empty? But it was just because of this evident failure of all churches conducted upon the principle of opening their pews indifferently to all, and renting them at as high rates as the demand warranted, that Dr. Chalmers was pleading so ardently for a new and different system being tried.—"We shall never be understood, so long as the Church is regarded in its naked and separate existence alone, without being regarded in the affinity which it bears to the assigned district

* "But it will be admitted, with deep regret, by every philanthropic mind, that in all our large towns there unhappily exists a very large population, composed of the avowedly irreligious, and of all those classes who fill our jails and bridewells, and infest our streets, for whom, to provide church-accommodation as the means of reclaiming them from their evil courses would betray a lamentable degree of ignorance of human nature. By making proper allowance for these classes the quantity of church-accommodation required in all our large towns will be considerably reduced."—Statement relative to Church-Accommodation in Scotland, in Answer to the Representations in the Circular of the Moderator of the General Assembly, by the Scottish Central Board for Vindicating the Rights of Dissenters, pp. 7, 8.

in the midst of which it is situated. The whole peculiarity of our scheme lies in this; and, while this is kept out of sight, we shall never have done with the unintelligent crudities of those by whom we are made the objects of a perpetual misrepresentation. The Church is planted for the express benefit of certain unprovided families occupying a given district that has been previously explored, and whose limits have been previously determined; and the specific thing on which we rest, and are willing to rest exclusively the merits of our cause, is the footing upon which the relation is established between this church and these families. (1.) We provide them with a church *near enough*, else they are still unprovided families. (2.) We are labouring to provide them with a church at *seat-rents low enough*, else they are obviously still unprovided families. (3.) We take care that *the district be small enough*, and its families few enough to be thoroughly pervaded by the week-day attentions of a clergyman; else in one most important respect these families would still be unprovided, because not provided with a minister who might assume the pastoral superintendence, and discharge it so fully as to become the counsellor and Christian friend of one and all of them. The main strength of our case lies, not in ours being a new place of worship additional to the old ones that were previously in existence, but in ours being distinguished from all the others, by the new relation in which it stands to the outer field that is immediately around it, and that we have allocated for its parish. And as the church is thus appropriated to the use of its particular locality, so the duties of its minister are as much appropriated to the people within its limits—it being his specific business not to fill that church from the general neighbourhood, or from the wide and universal town, but to fill that church out of that parish. It is for the express purpose of making this a possible or likely achievement, that we enact

the three conditions which we have now specified—holding them indispensable to such a constitution of a church, as that its minister may, without stepping beyond the limits of a manageable home-walk, sustain and fully acquit himself, both of the ministerial and pastoral relation to the people of the same little vicinity. Were we sure that our reader would retain in his mind the three elements which we have now put together into one combination, then, by the means of a single word, might we convey to him the precise and characteristic object at which we aim. Instead of looking to the church in its individuality, let him look to the manner in which we propose that it should be conjoined with the local territory in which it stands, and let him agree, because of this conjunction, to its being called a local or territorial church—then our object is not in the general to build churches, but to plant *territorial churches* in those places where we judge that they are wanted."*

In the dissenting churches of Edinburgh there were relatively as many unlet sittings as in the churches of the Establishment, and yet with all that large amount of unoccupied church-room, there were thousands wandering as sheep without a shepherd. This was chiefly owing, as Dr. Chalmers thought, to the Corporation having stripped the parish churches of their original and proper character as churches for the poor by the exaction of high seat-rents. "The right ground of complaint here obviously lies in the intervention of this party, the Magistrates of Edinburgh, who change and augment the seat-rents at pleasure for the purposes of a revenue to the city corporation. But for this intervention, and had the system of parochial seat-letting been observed, we might at this hour have seen the great bulk of the inhabitants within the royalty accommodated on easy terms at their own proper churches; and the branded Annuity-tax, if tax it must be called, would

* See *Works*, vol. xviii. pp. 111-112.

mainly and substantially have been a tax on the wealthier classes of society for the Christian instruction of society at large. They are our city rulers who have cruelly broken up this bland and beneficent economy, by the imposition of another and distinct tax, which the former one was meant to supersede, and of which latter tax they receive all the produce, while the ministers have to bear all the odium of it. The ministers have thus been dissevered from their own parish populations, and placed in a false and obnoxious position before the eyes of the general community; and never, perhaps, in the history of human injustice has there occurred a more signal example of it, than that the perpetrators of a great public mischief should have so succeeded in shifting the burden of its consequent indignation from themselves, and laying it on the heads of men who suffer nothing but cruelty and contumely at their hands. They are the Town-Council of Edinburgh who extort these enormous seat-rents for the supply of their own treasury: and yet there are members of that Council who labour with all their might to direct the exasperation of their own measures against the persons and character of the men who have no hand in them. They are the Town-Council of Edinburgh, who, in the management of the Church's affairs, have smitten it with the impotency, and worse than the impotency, of the Voluntary system; and then, by a publication of unlet seats, charged throughout with false principle and erroneous calculation, flash on the public eye the result of their own misdoings, as if the doings of an establishment, all whose arrangements they have departed from, and all whose principles they have violated. The effect of their last issued manifesto, blazoned in all the newspapers, and industriously distributed among our public and parliamentary men, is to lesson both the country and the Government into the conclusion, that a religious establishment is a useless and ill-working thing; and so it

is truly in the hands of such bungling and hostile administrators. They may be truly said to have it all their own way in the controversy; for they have not only propounded the argument, but with their own hands they have created its materials. After having multiplied in sufficient number the proofs of their own worthless misgovernment, they place them in full array before the eyes of the community, as proofs of the worthlessness of the Church. Such is the exquisite injustice of our city rulers; but we trust that neither the Government nor the country will be any longer deceived by it, nor confound the effects of an establishment rightly conducted, with the effects of its wretched mal-administration in the town of Edinburgh."*

In the months of April and May Dr. Chalmers issued four different pamphlets,† the first and the last of which were expositions of the great principles upon which this Church Extension Scheme was founded; and the two intermediate ones dealt controversially with the chief objections that had been brought against it,—as urged so incessantly and triumphantly by certain leading members of the Town-Council. Throughout all the busy winter, the close of which was so prolific of pamphlets, the direct and proper objects of Church Extension, the raising of a central fund, and the stimulating of local efforts had been diligently prosecuted; and in giving in his First Report to the General Assembly of 1835, Dr. Chalmers announced the grand

* See *Works*, vol. xviii. pp. 177-179.

† Early in April, "The Right Ecclesiastical Economy of a Large Town" was published, and almost contemporaneously there appeared the pamphlet entitled, "On the Evils which the Established Church in Edinburgh has already suffered, and suffers still, in virtue of the Seat-letting being in the hands of the Magistrates; with remarks on the unjust and injurious tendency of a late document, published by their authority, on the subject of the Unlet Sittings." In May there appeared the pamphlet entitled, "Re-assertion of the Evils of the Edinburgh system of Seat-letting, with new proofs adapted to recent objections;" which was speedily followed by another, "On the Cause of Church Extension, and the Question shortly stated between Churchmen and Dissenters in regard to it." These four pamphlets will be found in Dr. Chalmers's Works, vol. xviii.

result. In the course of that single year upwards of sixty-five thousand pounds had been contributed, and sixty-four new churches, about as many as the whole preceding century had given birth to, had been or were being built in connexion with the Establishment.

Dr. Chalmers proceeded to London immediately after the close of the Assembly. Sir Robert Peel's brief ministry was now over, and Lord Melbourne was again in power. Remembering, however, the encouragement given to the deputation of the preceding year, and considering that in the sixty-four new churches, and sixty-five thousand pounds subscribed, he carried so many evidences of the necessity of the case, and the popularity of his cause, Dr. Chalmers still hoped that an endowment would be obtained. But he was too late; arriving in London only in time to hear that the resolution of the Ministry was taken, and that instead of giving any answer to the Church's demand, it had been resolved that a Commission of Inquiry should be issued. He might reasonably enough have hoped that the authorized statement of the General Assembly's Committee should have been received as sufficient evidence of an existing destitution, but as that destitution had been so confidently denied, and as Government seemed to have opened its ear to the denial, he felt that it was not unfair that the matter should go to proof. One consolation only under the disappointment remained, that, in moving the appointment of the Commission, Lord John Russell appeared to indicate, that if the facts were as the Church Extensionists had alleged, the only question then could be,—in what manner, or out of what fund, the grant asked by them should be given? "The statement of opinion," said his Lordship, "which, no doubt, will always be made by those who dissent from the Church, and who disapprove of any establishment, is, that religion will never flourish so well as when left to the voluntary support of those

who may be inclined to attend divine worship. On that question of principle I do not wish to enter; for I can give but one opinion—I can hold but one doctrine on that subject—namely, that a Church Establishment affords the best means of diffusing and promoting religious instruction. I think it our duty, as a Government, to maintain that principle, and to uphold the Church Establishment which is founded on it. There is, then, another question remaining, the issue of which depends, however, on certain facts, which should be correctly ascertained before Parliament comes to a final decision upon it. If it be true,—and I will not now pretend to dispute the point with those who are acquainted with the state of circumstances so much better than myself,—if it be proved that there is a large mass of the population to whom the means of religious instruction are not afforded, either by the Church or by those who dissent from it, there remains, then, the question,—whether you are obliged to supply that deficiency by an immediate grant from the public funds, or whether there exist the necessary means which are now by law, or which may become by law, available for the purpose of the Established Church?"*

The Royal Commission issued on the motion of Lord John Russell gave almost universal dissatisfaction to the friends of the Church of Scotland. The following correspondence will be read with interest, not only as laying bare some of the grounds of that dissatisfaction, but as indicating that Dr. Chalmers was in possession of evidence of Lord Melbourne's unfriendly feeling towards the cause of Church Extension which he was not at liberty to divulge. It is well known that at this period Dr. Chalmers was in the habit of expressing in no measured terms his distrust of the Whigs. After perusing these letters, our readers may understand better than they did before the reasons of that distrust.

* *Hansard*, vol. xxix. p. 187.

"BURNTISLAND, *August 28th*, 1835.

"MY LORD,—I have received the communication of August 18th, by which your Lordship has honoured me.

"I have not the recollection of your Lordship's having expressed any anxiety in regard to the Commission not turning out to be satisfactory, though I have a very clear recollection of your having expressed the determination that it should be an impartial one.

"Your reported speech in the House of Lords on the 17th, led me to infer that your anticipation of this dissatisfaction was grounded on what your Lordship had observed in your interviews with the deputations on both sides, of 'the mutual violence of hostile feeling by which they were actuated.' But your letter assigns a different cause for this apprehension—'the extravagance of their respective opinions.'

"Allow me to observe that the first cause seemed to me not only an inadequate and unreal account of your Lordship's forebodings, but that your statement of it to the House of Lords, if truly reported, was injurious to the deputation from the Church of Scotland, who not only observed the utmost freedom from all expressions of violence or hostility against the dissenters, but who, after the fullest acknowledgment of what they had done for the Christian education of the people, repeatedly assured your Lordship that their object was not to supplant the dissenters, but to supply the destitute, who at this moment stand in thousands and tens of thousands beyond the reach both of the Establishment on the one hand, and of the Voluntary system on the other.

"In regard to the second cause, or the 'extravagance of our respective opinions,' a charge dealt out by your Lordship to both parties, but of which I shall only notice the part of it which comes to our share—that is, our sanguine and overheated imagination of the good which is to ensue from bring-

ing the lessons of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to bear on those who are now unprovided with them,—one does not very clearly see how this should at all act as an element of disunion between us of the Establishment and our brethren of the dissent; for so far from there being any difference of opinion betwixt us on this particular topic, it is perhaps the one of all others on which we are most entirely and cordially agreed. Indeed, it cannot well be otherwise. To extenuate or deny the good that would be done by bringing under a process of Christian instruction those who at present are beyond the pale of Gospel lessons and ordinances, were to extenuate or deny the good that is done or doing by the present labours of the clergy, whether in or out of the Establishment, among their actual hearers. Those who think it worth while to keep up the Christianity that exists, must also think it as much worth while to extend it. There seems no difference between telling us that little or no good would ensue from affording religious instruction to those who at present have it not, and telling us that little or no good is done by all the religious instruction which is now imparted both by the Church and the dissenters to their existing congregations. If little or no good is to be expected by teaching Christianity to those who are without the reach of its opportunities, this is tantamount to saying that little or no evil would result on the departure of Christianity and all its services from the land. Neither the clergy of the Establishment nor those of the dissent are yet prepared to go this length, which were to give up the importance of their professional labours, and acquiesce in a sentiment that stamps a nullity on the Gospel, and an utter insignificance on the vocation of its ministers: and should your Lordship's administration, or any other in the future history of this country, make broad enough display of the light and low estimate in which the good of Christian instruction is held by them, it is not

only the friends of the National Church that will be revolted by such an exhibition, but the wise and the good of all denominations.

"But though I could say much more, I will not detain your Lordship any longer with this general and preliminary topic. Neither the 'violence of their mutual hostility,' nor the 'extravagance of their respective opinions,' neither of these theories is sufficient to account for the present state of feeling which exists in Scotland on the subject of our Church Commission; and I shall now endeavour to make it palpable to your Lordship, that there do exist sufficient grounds for this dissatisfaction in the constitution of the Commission itself. I have to entreat that your Lordship will not construe it into disrespect if I represent the matter frankly and faithfully, and without any softenings or circumlocutions. This way of it I shall not only find to be far easier to myself, but I think it far more just and friendly to your Lordship.

"I shall state, then, what I know has given the utmost dissatisfaction; first, in the appointment of the Commission, and secondly, in the terms of it. * * *

"It is not necessary to impeach the moral character and honesty of these Commissioners, (as far as is known to me unimpeachable,) in order to establish the unfairness of their appointment. Your Lordship must be too well aware of the perverting and blinding influence of partisanship, particularly after it has been openly avowed, and men by their own acts stand publicly committed to it, not to perceive that the presence, and above all, the active and influential operation of these men in the recently appointed Commission, are fitted to have an injurious effect on the interests of the Church of Scotland. And let me add, for the sake of placing the matter in all its fulness before you, that they are not only men of no adequate stake in the country, but men of little or no per-

sonal or professional eminence, and therefore not fitted to give that weight or dignity to the Commission wherewith such an apparatus for a great national object ought to have been invested. It is no fault of theirs that they are deficient either in status, or perhaps in high talent, or more probably in years, so as not yet to have had time for the establishment of their reputation in the world; but, forgive me, my Lord, it is the fault of the Government that room should have been made for these at the instigation of their patrons or political friends, and that our instigations have been so slighted and disregarded. These are the men for whom the Government have refused to appoint Mr. A. E. Monteith and Mr. G. Speirs,* both rising or rather already risen members of the profession to which they belong; and Mr. Colquhoun of Killermont, an accomplished gentleman and scholar, and intimately versant in the ecclesiastical statistics of the manufacturing districts in Scotland; all of whom were suggested by us to Mr. P. Stewart, who was in constant communication both with the Government offices and with ourselves. We furthermore mentioned Mr. J. Loch and Mr. Campbell of Islay, who would have proved of the greatest use to us in ascertaining the ecclesiastical state, and providing for the ecclesiastical necessities of the North and West Highlands; and whose connexion with these large provinces made them feel a natural interest in the wellbeing of their respective populations, which cannot be expected from those men of no weight and no standing, who, for reasons which I leave others to divine, have been substituted in their place. On the whole I will venture to affirm, that never in the whole public history of this country was there a national commission heard of for the prosecution of a grave and great national object made up of such unfit and such unseemly

* I should have stated also, that Mr. Alexander Dunlop was one of those who was suggested by us.

materials, as Government on the present occasion have thought proper to introduce into this Commission of Inquiry as to the means of the people's Christian education; and never has any cause of high patriotism been so demeaned and so despoiled of its due reverence, as this highest and holiest of causes by these most incongruous ministrations.

"Of the affront done to the Church of Scotland I say nothing. The gravamen of our complaint, and that, too, against a Government which professes to be based on the principle of the greatest good to the greatest numbers in the commonwealth, is the positive injury done to the working-classes for whose benefit that Church is seeking after the means of her extension. You have given us a hostile secretary, and three hostile members, adverse, and known to be so, to the extension of that Church whose pride and pre-eminence it is to be the church of the common people—and these three, it should be remarked, form a *majority of all the real serviceable working Commissioners who reside in Scotland.* It is vain to tell us of the respectability of our Honorary Commissioners, or indeed of all the Commissioners *put together*, for—as if to remove every check or barrier against the mischief which might be done by any number of Commissioners, however small, who might be disaffected to our cause—by a clause in the Commission, any one of them is empowered to call for the production of all manner of evidence, (which may be as much or as little as he likes,) in other words, any one of them may direct this inquiry; and any three of them may report on the results of it. At this rate, it is in the power of three active enemies to expatiate over the whole country, and to examine and to report on as many places in Scotland as they can possibly overtake; and it needs but a careless and superficial style of inquiry to pass any number of parishes through their hands. Against their representations, so long as this clause is suffered to re-

main, the efforts even of a well-affected majority, though we had such a majority, would be of no avail.

"Before passing on to the terms of the Commission, let me here explain what I stated briefly and generally in my last communication to your Lordship, when I intimated the injustice that had been done to us, so soon as we ceased to have direct intercourse with yourself, and the other heads of His Majesty's Government. After the Commission was voted by the House of Commons, I and another member of the Assembly's deputation remained a fortnight in London, for the purpose of looking after the appointment of its members, and the instructions that should be given to them. Our intercourse with the Government officers, as I stated before, was carried on through Mr. Patrick Stewart. We had not forgotten the promise made both by your Lordship and by Lord John Russell, of a fair and impartial Commission; but when it came to the execution of the promise, or, in other words, when from the hands of the principals in the Government, we fell into the hands of its subordinates, then it was that we experienced the reverse of all that is handsome or honourable—an utter want of openness, but that on a pretext which wore in it the appearance of friendship—'that it would be greatly better for the Church of Scotland if it could be said that we, its representatives in London, had no knowledge of the appointments, and no control over them.' As a *sample*, however, of what the appointments were to be, we were told of Mr. Hope Johnstone, whose high character and whose connexion with a very large department in the south of Scotland made him a most desirable accession. We were then given to understand that all the other appointments would be alike satisfactory, that our continued stay in London would be altogether unnecessary, and that we might rest assured that the objects of our mission were fully and satisfactorily accomplished. We began then to

feel the indelicacy of haunting the offices of Government any longer by inquiries which bore in them the appearance of suspicion; and in the confidence that we were in the hands of honourable men, we took our departure. A few days afterwards, the Gazette announcing the Commission and its members made its appearance, when I frankly tell your Lordship that I could not forbear the expression of my utter indignancy and disgust at the treatment that we had received. These are the plain facts of the case. We must tell them for our own vindication; and it is not our fault if the impression everywhere given by them is that we have been grossly deceived—though who the conscious and who the unconscious instruments might be in the process of this deception, it is not for us to determine.

"I now proceed to take up the terms of the Commission, which I have in part anticipated in regard to that obnoxious clause, by which any three of the Commissioners are empowered to do as much mischief as they please, unchecked by the control of a well-affected majority, even though it were possible in the present composition of the body that such a majority could ever be assembled at one meeting.

"But there is another obnoxious feature in the Commission, which leads me still more to regret, that in the framing of that document there was so rigid and resolute an exclusion of all persons intimately acquainted with the genius or constitution of the Church of Scotland. Those who drew it up were either ignorant of the fundamental principle of our Presbyterian Establishment, or meant to offer it a violence. In the hands of friendly and intelligent commissioners we should not fear any transgression being made on the line of demarcation between the civil and the ecclesiastical; but the case is widely different with those hostile administrators who have been actually set over us, and who, in virtue of the loose and unguarded terms in which the Commission has been framed, might

offer the most painful annoyance to what we cherish and esteem as amongst the most sacred of our principles. We do not acknowledge the king to be the head of the Church; and this independence of the ecclesiastical upon the civil was conceded to us at the Revolution, after we had sustained many and grievous persecutions in defence of it, and since guaranteed at the period of the union between the two kingdoms. We do not admit the subordination of the Church to the State in things which are strictly and properly ecclesiastical; or that we are responsible to any tribunal on earth for the discharge and exercise of our spiritual functions. The first attempt which the Commissioners of the Crown shall make (I speak as a true son of Presbytery) on this the dearest and most hallowed of our principles, will not only be the signal for calling together the ministers of the Church, but, in spite of the miserable calculations of your Lordship's advisers, it will be found of the great mass and majority of the population still attached to the tabernacles of their fathers, that many are the thousands among them who as one man will resent any outrage on those great truths and principles which the martyred founders of our Church have bequeathed to us. A commission could have been drawn up in which the duties to be fulfilled might have been so defined and guarded as to have provided for all the needful and legitimate objects of inquiry, and at the same time saved the hazard of all interference between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities; instead of which there is every reason to apprehend that this faulty Commission will be followed up by as faulty an execution of it; and I therefore regret the more when a task of some delicacy had to be fulfilled, that the framing of a document of so much importance should have been committed to the rude and unpractised hands which have been employed to prepare it.

"I have only now to entreat that your Lordship will give

me credit, when I assure you that this letter has been written with much pain and in great perplexity—divided, as I am, between a sense of that respect which I owe to the first minister of the Crown, and the obligation which I feel to lay at your feet, an honest and undisguised representation of the wrongs which have been done to the Church of Scotland.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c. THOMAS CHALMERS

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD MELBOURNE."

"BURNTISLAND, *8th September*, 1835.

"MY LORD,—I am most unwilling to trespass any further on your Lordship's engagements, and shall therefore confine myself to a very few remarks on one topic of the last letter by which you have honoured me.

"Your Lordship has been pleased to intimate that to 'stir and agitate the question of an additional grant to the Church of Scotland at this period you consider to have been a great imprudence and indiscretion in those who must have been well acquainted with the state of religious feeling and religious opinion in that country.'

"Had your Lordship given expression to this sentiment at the outset of our communications by refusing to entertain the question at all, it might have saved a world of embarrassment to all parties; and after our cause had thus been thrown an unprotected orphan on the liberalities of the Christian public in Scotland, our distinct object should have been to have made the most of the only means which remain to us—in the hope that without the aid of Government we might be able to accomplish in half a century, what with their aid we could have accomplished in less than half a generation.

"Even in this age of novelties we were not prepared to expect that any large body of our countrymen could under the guise of principle have opposed themselves to the adoption of

means for the moral and Christian education of the many unprovided thousands in Scotland; or far less, that any Government could in deference to their wishes have resigned the parental office of securing this best of blessings to the families of the poor man and of the labourer.

"And in further extenuation of the charge of imprudence and indiscretion which your Lordship has been pleased to prefer against us, we might appeal to the encouragement given us in the summer of 1834, by the friendly declarations of ministers both in and out of Parliament; to the general assurances which we had the honour of receiving from yourself and from your colleagues in the month of June last, even to the appointment of a Commission for the prosecution of the question—for surely a question worthy of being prosecuted was worthy of being started: and if these indications all favourable to our cause have been practically followed up by the adoption of means hostile to its success, and lastly by such a rebuke of the whole enterprise as your Lordship has been pleased to administer, surely we are not to blame for not foreseeing such an amount of fluctuation, nor is it for us to resolve the enigma of these most unlooked-for and contradictory appearances.

"But notwithstanding the discouragements which you or your colleagues in office have recently laid upon us, we shall feel it our duty to persevere. We can never give up the principle that it is the part of a Christian government to provide for the religious instruction of its subjects; and neither shall we be deterred by the resistance of those enemies to our Church, whose voice has been of so much greater weight than our own in the counsels of your administration, from prosecuting the great design of a religious establishment, which is to extend the blessings of the Gospel to all, and especially to the more humble and destitute of the common people.

"We shall therefore not relinquish the hope of a kinder spirit towards us on the part of the Government, and a more friendly countenance on our undertaking than your Lordship is now pleased to bestow; and it will be altogether our duty so to make demonstration of the real character and design of our proceedings as not only to conciliate your more favourable regard, but, if possible, to disarm the antipathies of those whose views and wishes have been of such paramount influence in this question.

"However unsatisfactory the substance of your Lordship's communication, I have to acknowledge with gratitude the courtesy of the terms in which it has been conveyed to me.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c., THOMAS CHALMERS.

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD MELBOURNE."

"BURNTISLAND, 15*th September*, 1835.

"MY LORD,—I meant to have written to your Lordship irrespective altogether of your communication of the 11th, which I had the honour of receiving yesterday.

"But before proceeding to the original object of this letter, suffer me to assure you that even had I foreseen the whole amount of that resistance to the grant for adding to the means of religious instruction in Scotland, which has proved so formidable to your Lordship, I should not have altered the course which we have actually taken—confident as I then was, and as I am still, that when Government comes more fully to understand the merits of our cause, and the real character of the opposition which has been raised against it, they will at length come to acknowledge that it is a cause in the support of which both sound policy and sound principle are at one.

"But this makes me all the more regret that the Government should have framed such a barrier in the way of their own information, by the appointment of a Commission, the

most active members of which are the most prejudiced and therefore the most incompetent inquirers that could possibly have been fixed upon.

"It is not chiefly the conduct of the Voluntaries by which I have been disappointed in the expectations which I had formed. It is by the conduct of the Government who have chosen to look to our question through the medium of Voluntary misrepresentation and prejudice, instead of looking at it with their own eyes. I was aware of the hostile opinions of so many of our countrymen; but not aware that the Government would have given any weight of theirs to opinions in which they do not concur, and the prevalence of which they lament.

"I feel quite sure that in this question the Government has been wofully deceived. A restless, locomotive, clamorous minority, by the noise they have raised, and by the help of men irreligious themselves, and therefore taking no interest, but the contrary, in the religious education of the people, have attained in the eyes of our rulers a magnitude and an importance which do not belong to them—while the great bulk of the population, quiet because satisfied, are, by an overwhelming preponderance, on the side of the Establishment. * * *

"The superficial agitation of the sea in a storm reaches about twenty feet beneath the surface, after which the great body of the waters is still and motionless: and so every Government based on the quicksands of agitation must feel the ground trembling under it. The way to provide against this is to lay the basement deep enough; and, if only based on principle which is deepest of all, the Government I am persuaded would, in spite of the menace and bluster which might then assail it, find a solid resting-place in the established habits and fixed affections of the people of Scotland; when the same violence which is now shaking the foundations of the political edifice, would play innocuous upon its sides.

"But I forget the primary and practical design of this letter, which was to inform your Lordship that an extraordinary meeting of the Commission of our General Assembly is now being called for, for the purpose of considering the terms of the Government Commission of Inquiry. It is not I who have originated this step; but it is the fruit of a spontaneous and simultaneous requisition made or to be made to the Moderator (the president) of the Assembly from various parts of Scotland. The Presbyteries of Glasgow and Aberdeen have already moved in this matter, and the probability or rather the certainty is that I shall be called upon for such explanations as I can give.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c., THOMAS CHALMERS.

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD MELBOURNE."

At the ordinary meeting of the Commission of Assembly, held in the month of August, a resolution had been passed to the effect that the Commission of Religious Inquiry, as then constituted, was not entitled to the confidence of the Church. It had been hoped, that when such a strong expression of opinion was communicated to him, Lord Melbourne would make at least some satisfactory additions to the number of Commissioners; and it was understood that at first he was not unwilling to do so. But again the adverse influence of the dissenters prevailed, and it was intimated that no change would be made. In consequence of this, a special meeting of the Commission of Assembly took place at Edinburgh on the 30th September. By this time considerable agitation had arisen within the Church upon the constitution of the Royal Commission, as threatening an invasion upon the spiritual independence of the Church; and the proposal had in many quarters been entertained that the Established clergy should refuse to appear and give evidence. Upon this topic Dr. Chalmers had been ad-

dressed by the Dean of Faculty in the following letter, offering his decided opinion as a lawyer, and adding, that it might be quoted as such :—

"EDINBURGH, 20, *Moray Place, August 18th*, 1835.

"MY DEAR SIR,—The terms of this extraordinary Commission respecting the Church, which seems to me subversive of Presbytery, and of the spiritual authority and independence of our Church, will be my apology for writing to you.

"It is most unfortunate that the terms of the Commission were not known at the meeting of the Assembly's Commission, and that there has been some *unfair* trick to prevent the terms being known to the Commission is plain, as you will see by the copy in to-day's 'Courant,' that it passed the Seal on the *29th of July*.

"The subject has now assumed an importance in my view infinitely beyond the selection of Commissioners; although the objects of the Commission of course render the selection much more pernicious, and the hostility to the Church in the selection more marked. I need not comment to you on the character of the Commission. The attempt by the Crown (unconstitutional even by Act of Parliament, but by the Crown, whether on address of one House or not, a most flagrant attack on the Church) to inquire as to how the Church of Scotland performs its duty of affording Religious Instruction and pastoral superintendence to the people, by Commissioners who are to visit your parishes and sit in judgment on you individually, taking evidence of all complaints, I suppose, which they may receive against individual members, and against both the ministers and the Church Courts,—this attempt is not paralleled, I think, by anything in the reigns of James or Charles I.

"The terms of the Commission now warrant, and, I think, call upon all the Presbyteries of the Church to petition the

House of Lords to interfere and protect the Church from this most flagrant outrage. I trust that the Presbyteries will unanimously resolve to refuse to acknowledge the *power* to institute any such inquiry, or to make any answers whatever to these Commissioners, now that the terms of the Commission are known. No good that might be incidentally expected can compensate for acquiescence in the overthrow of Presbyterian independence. On this subject my opinion as a lawyer is of little consequence: but you may quote it as decidedly formed, that the Commission is illegal and incompetent, and the *powers* with which the Crown attempts to arm the Commissioners also illegal and ineffectual.

"I have stated to Lord Aberdeen that this visitation of the ministers by the Crown or by Parliament is utterly inconsistent with the Divine appointment of ministers—of the authority of the Church, and destructive of the principle and independence of Presbytery.

"The power given to these Commissioners is wholly illegal, can only be exercised in the way most degrading to the Church, and especially in the hands of Commissioners who will exercise them for that purpose, whether they take the evidence of the ministers or of the people and complainers, stimulated by the Voluntaries.

"As a member of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, as our firm and well-tried Presbyterian champion, I trust your voice will be exerted upon this, as it seems to me, the commencement of the final fight for our Church.—I remain, my dear Sir, your very faithful servant, JOHN HOPE."

Dr. Chalmers was not to be persuaded. His own calm reading of the terms of the Commission had satisfied him that the Dean's interpretation was incorrect; and any apprehension he might have cherished, Lord John Russell's letter to Lord Minto

served entirely to remove.* He shrunk besides from doing any thing that would hinder the proposed inquiry. "But let me not," he said, while giving the first and strongest expression of his indignation immediately after hearing who the Royal Commissioners were to be—"but let me not be misunderstood. I will submit to any affront rather than that the cause should suffer from any want of willing co-operation which I can possibly render to it. I look for many disagreeables in consequence of these appointments; but I will brook anything rather than give up the object of a Christian education for the common people. And though now we must lay our account, I fear, with much and most painful annoyance, we must comfort ourselves with such being the strength of our cause, that even its deadliest enemies will not be able to injure it, without our being able to convince an indignant public that both they and the Government who have appointed them are most palpably in the wrong."† And at the meeting of Commission in October, after strongly urging upon his brethren that they should throw no obstruction whatever in the way of the fullest investigation—"I would not for the world," he said, "that our Church should interpose a single straw in the way of such an inquiry." Notwithstanding, therefore, the stirring summons he had received, Dr. Chalmers reserved his energies as the Church's champion for another day, now not far off, when the battle for the Church's independence did in truth commence—but when that day came, instead of finding the Dean of Faculty fighting heroically by his side, he beheld him leading the vanguard of the foe.

* See Appendix I.

† Letter to P. M. Stewart, Esq., M.P., dated Leamington, July 21st, 1835.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.—P. 85.

"THIS night, the Committee of the Auxiliary Missionary Society of St. Andrews having met, it was stated to them by one of the members that great disapprobation and ill-will had been expressed against the Society on the ground of those penny-a-week contributions, which made it competent for persons in the humbler classes of life to become members thereof, and by which it was conceived that people whose means were barely sufficient for the maintenance of themselves and of their families might be more speedily reduced to the necessity of applying for parochial aid, so that the system of our proceedings was represented as adverse to the independence of the poor, and adverse to the interests of the kirk-session of St. Andrews.

"The Committee, in vindication of themselves for having first suggested that regulation of the Society which has been so much criticised, and for having recommended the appointment of collectors with the view of carrying it into effect, have to declare that they never once conceived the possibility of those small weekly contributions ever being attended with one or other of the effects which have been complained of. On the contrary, many of them did, and still do, entertain the opinion that a philanthropic society, which enlists in its support the great mass of the population, is in itself a defence against the growth of pauperism instead of being a cause or an instrument for extending it. They were not at all aware, that in the sacrifice of a penny a week there lay the mysterious and the malignant power of so hastening the decline and degradation of families, that so much as one of them would on that account become dependent on public charity a single day earlier than if no such sacrifice had been made. Instead of this, they acted on the full conviction that the system of popular contributions to a good cause in any neighbourhood has a most wholesome

operation on the state of its pauperism; that its direct tendency is to elevate the great body of the people into the condition of givers, and so to strengthen their antipathies to the humiliation of ever sinking into the condition of receivers; that in this way the people are set at what may be called a wider moral distance than before from the inclination of ever seeking for sessional relief, and that this would vastly more than countervail the very slight approximation which, by the surrender of a weekly penny, they arithmetically make towards the necessity of seeking for it. These considerations were present to the mind of your Committee at the time when this regulation was proposed, and they only repeat them now for the purpose of vindicating themselves against the charge of indifference either to the interests of the poor or to those of any public body in the town of St. Andrews.

"But they bring them forward now for no other purpose than to demonstrate their own innocence of all hostile and mischievous designs at the original proposal of this regulation. They are willing to rest the vindication of this measure on something still more palpable than a mere argument on the subject of its tendencies. They are quite sensible, that in the opinion which they happen to entertain of these tendencies, there are some most respectable individuals who are honestly at variance with them. In the spirit of a most sincere and deferential regard to their apprehensions, they would recommend the following regulations to be adopted at the next general meeting of the Society; and resolve in the meantime to act upon them on their own responsibility.

"*First*, That no contributions shall be received in behalf of this Society by those who are receiving aid from the kirk-session.

"*Secondly*, That in the event of any of our contributors being ever reduced to the necessity of applying for such aid, the Society shall hold themselves bound to restore the whole amount of their contributions.

"It is fondly hoped that when these regulations, and more especially the second of them, become generally known, the Society will be suffered to prosecute their harmless and beneficent labours in peace. We are persuaded that there is no solicitation, no indiscreet or unfair urgency brought to bear by our collectors upon any of the population. The almost unexcepted cordiality with which they are received is to us a satisfying pledge of the perfect delicacy wherewith their visits are conducted. And we cannot but rejoice in this welcome admittance to their houses of the wealthier by the poorer classes, on an errand of Christian benevolence, as the precursor of that closer harmony and that more frequent intercourse betwixt them, out of which nothing but the purest and most substantial good must accrue to the community.

"And we find it impossible to bring this argument to a conclusion without offering an apology to the general body of our contributors for the very imagination of their being so close upon the margin of pauperism, that by one penny from each of them in the week the fearful hazard was incurred of drawing them within its limits. We are most thoroughly aware that it can only be affirmed of a very small fraction of our members that there is any human likelihood of their ever being reduced to the necessity of petitioning for public or parochial aid; and even in reference to them, this is a likelihood which, in our view of the matter, we have done nothing to aggravate, but rather to diminish. We at the same time know the instability of human affairs; and we trust that we shall be forgiven, if, to meet even the very faintest plausibility which can be alleged in opposition to the measures of this Society, we have for so much as a moment descended to the imagination of any considerable number of our associates in the work of benevolence ever becoming dependents on the charity of the parish. We are assured that among the friends of our undertaking there is many a hard-working and honest-hearted labourer, whose ambition it is to sustain himself and his family in respectable independence even to the very close of their pilgrimage upon earth—who have a pleasure in lifting their hands, as the Apostle did before them, and in being able to say that these hands have done the whole work of ministering to mine own necessities and the necessities of those who are with me—who, knowing that it is more blessed to give than to receive, never purpose, if they can at all help it, to receive of any public charity whatever, but who would count it hard should they be debarred in the meantime from the privilege of giving—who think themselves as well entitled, to the extent of their capabilities, to the luxury of doing good, and of sharing in a great philanthropic enterprise, as any of those who, in virtue of rank or of opulence, are usually styled their betters in society—who would think, in common with us, that the most hateful of all aristocracies were that which should monopolize all the satisfactions and the triumphs of Christian charity, and should exclude them from such demonstrations of attachment to the cause of missionaries as they feel themselves willing to bestow. The Committee at once defer to the justness of such feelings on the part of the working-classes, and are further aware of the importance of their continued friendship to the cause. Our Society, in fact, without their aid, would have shrunk and been contracted into the littleness of a club; and if debarred from the opportunity of appealing for support to the community at large, we shall feel ourselves debarred from the most welcome and the most influential of all patronage."

APPENDIX B.—P. 105.

On the 1st September 1824, Dr. Chalmers addressed the following communication to Lord Elgin :—

"St. Andrews, *September* 1*st*, 1824.

"My Lord,—I should have written your Lordship sooner on the subject of our proposed dinner, but we have been sadly engrossed with another arrangement in which the reputation and interest of our College are very deeply involved ; and about which, indeed, I feel greatly inclined to write direct to Lord Melville, but I have not yet got the better of that diffidence I have in addressing myself to one with whom I am so slenderly acquainted. I have earnestly to solicit your Lordship's aid and advice upon the occasion, and should you deem it necessary for the saving of time to transmit my sentiments, or even this letter to Lord Melville, I shall feel much greater comfort in offering myself to his notice under the cover of your introduction, than in standing before him singly and in my own person.

"When I last spoke to Dr. Nichol of the dinner to Dr. Hunter, he was for postponing it to March. This adverse and odious business has given me a great distaste for it in the meantime. I have felt myself for some weeks to be without heart, and without hope, in reference to our beloved Alma Mater, and honestly thought, while this arrangement was going on, that instead of being paraded before the public eye, it was more our part to be clothed in sackcloth, and to hide our head as ashamed. It lies with Lord Melville to achieve for us a great restoration. The University over which he presides possesses great capabilities, I think, for emerging into splendour, and with his Lordship's countenance to the zeal and public virtue of her members, might be conducted back again to the eminence that she once had among the Universities of Scotland. Thomas Chalmers."

Lord Elgin having signified his desire that Dr. Chalmers should write to him a fuller statement of the case, which he would transmit to Lord Melville, the following letter was addressed to Lord Elgin :—

"My Lord,—In the communication which I now make to your Lordship, I have to premise that far the most painful circumstance regarding it, is the aspect which it may at first bear of hostility against my worthy and estimable friend Dr. Nichol. To him your Lordship knows that I owe my present situation, the duties of which are in every way so congenial to my feelings, and the facilities of which consist so well with the tranquillity and the health that were so fast giving way in Glasgow. I trust that no

public difference will ever cause me to forget that personal gratitude to which he is so well entitled, or to fall short of that esteem which is due to his many virtues. But your Lordship will understand that there are points on which honourable men may differ, and that arrangements may be attempted by one from the best and purest of motives, in which another cannot with any degree of conscientiousness or consistency acquiesce. We are at present threatened with precisely such an arrangement in the College of St. Andrews, and I should indeed rejoice if your Lordship could do any thing for us in this early stage of the proceedings, that might prevent that more open controversy, which, if the measure be persisted in, will, I believe, be inevitable.

"The presentation in behalf of —— to be the assistant and successor of Dr. Nichol in the College Church of St. Leonards has been appealed against by the Presbytery of St. Andrews; and Dr. Nichol, instead of carrying it to the higher courts, has resigned his charge as minister of St. Leonards' church and parish. He of course retains the Principality of the Colleges, and has, therefore, fully as great an interest as any other member of the body in those ulterior measures which are connected with the settlement of the now vacant church. But there is reason to apprehend that with all Dr. Nichol's general excellence, and for which he is held in the utmost reverence and regard by the society over which he presides, he is not sufficiently aware of the great injury that might accrue to the Colleges from the appointment of a Professor to succeed him in the now existing vacancy; and it is further possible that he may feel himself still implicated in behalf of the same individual for the vacancy whom he already had in view to be his assistant and successor. In these circumstances, it is most desirable that Lord Melville should pause ere he fills up an office, in the settlement of which the welfare and reputation of the University of St. Andrews are so deeply involved.

"That the appointment of a Professor to assist and succeed Dr. Nichol was a very obnoxious one, is abundantly manifest from the resistance which it has already met with; and I can safely affirm that the appointment of a Professor to fill up the office now left vacant by Dr. Nichol's resignation will be tenfold more obnoxious. But to allege the mere obnoxiousness of the measure, may be alleging nothing at all against it, for there may be on such occasions, and often there actually is, a senseless clamour of prejudice and dissatisfaction which deserveth not for a moment to be listened to. But in the present case the detriment which our College will sustain from the arrangement that is so much dreaded is so very palpable, that I fondly trust Lord Melville will deem it worthy of his serious consideration.

"In the first place, such is the declining state of our funds and buildings, that there remains positively nothing to uphold our College but the superior style of its education and discipline. That this will avail us is evident from the history of the last twenty years, during which the attendance of our students has been trebled, and during which at the same time a great many of the most important classes have been conducted with a vigour that was before unknown. The Latin has been a very distinguished class under her eminent Professor Dr. John Hunter, whose name has for half a century given celebrity to St. Andrews. The Greek has greatly lengthened both its hours and its exercises. In the Mathematics there are three hours instead of two: in the Natural Philosophy two hours and sometimes three, when before there was only one: in the Moral Philosophy two hours instead of one. And within that period too the Chemistry class has been added to the list. The system has undergone a very great reparation. Our College has become what may be called a very hard-working College, for in addition to the hours of attendance, there is perhaps treble the amount that there wont to be of task-work in examining and exercises which must be looked over by the Professor out of doors. I speak my own conviction as well as that of some of my colleagues, when I affirm, that the preparations and the conduct of any of the classes should be enough to engross the whole time and strength of its Professor during the winter months; and I am sure for myself that I foresee in the business of my own class so much to occupy my attention, that the labours and engagements of another office are more than I could feel myself to be at all able for.

"It is under this system that the College has attained her present respectability, and to advance it still farther, we have nothing to do but extend this system, and above all protect it from any offered violation. It is utterly a mistake that the Logic class does not admit of the same busy and laborious superintendence with the other. It is this very class which, under the venerable Professor Jardine of Glasgow, has long been regarded as the most useful, and the most prolific of distinguished men, of any single class in Scotland; and it is well known that his admirable method cannot be put into operation without laying upon the Professor who fulfils it a full complement of labour.

"But, secondly, if our College classes can thus be turned into so many points of attraction to the families of Scotland, there is no doubt that the College pulpit may be turned into a point of attraction also. But for this purpose it is of the utmost importance that it shall be filled by a single handed labourer. It is true that the parish is small, though not so small either as is commonly imagined, having a population of between five and

six hundred. But to balance this, it should be remembered that the attendance of the church is peculiar, and would require a very high style of preparation. THOMAS CHALMERS."

FROM LORD MELVILLE TO LORD ELGIN.

"MELVILLE CASTLE, *28th October* 1824.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I return herewith the letter from Dr. Chalmers, which your Lordship took the trouble of transmitting to me some time ago. I have made it my business to inquire minutely into all the circumstances of the case, and I cannot persuade myself that the presentation of Dr. —— to the parish of St. Leonards (which I have recommended to Mr. Peel) is likely to be attended with the slightest detriment to the interests of the University of St. Andrews. Impressed with that feeling, I cannot be a party to the injustice with which Dr. —— would be treated if he were not to succeed to the living of St. Leonards, as he would have done if the vacancy had arisen by the demise instead of the resignation of Dr. Nichol. Independently, however, of any consideration for the welfare of the University of St. Andrews, which forms the prominent subject of Dr. Chalmers's letter, the question is evidently connected with the general topic agitated some months ago, as to the propriety of any Professor in a Scotch University being also a parochial minister. As far as I am competent to judge of that question, I believe that a regulation to prohibit in future pluralities to that limited extent, (if the living is in the same town,) would be attended with injurious consequences to the Church; but whatever may be said on that point, I can have no doubt of the injustice of attempting to carry it into effect by a direct innovation on the rights of the Crown, and of every patron in Scotland, and in an opposition given to presentations in individual cases, instead of meeting the question as one of a general nature to be settled by the Supreme Judicature of the Church, or if necessary by Parliament. I presume it is competent to the General Assembly to make regulations as to the qualifications of persons who are candidates for the office of the ministry of the Church, and if the General Assembly is competent to that verdict, and shall not infringe on the fundamental constitution of the Church as finally declared at the period of the Union, I deny the right of any Presbytery to refuse the presentation of a person properly qualified according to such existing regulations. I believe, also, that in England, a Bishop who should refuse, under similar circumstances, would be liable to a civil action for damages.

"Such being the opinions which I entertain on these several points, that no injury is likely to arise to the University of St. Andrews by the pre-

sentation of Dr. ——, and that it would be an act of injustice to him to withhold the presentation from him now, I have had no difficulty in recommending that presentation, with a decided conviction also, that if the Presbytery of St. Andrews, after the example of Glasgow last year, were to refuse to admit Dr. ——, (but which I have no reason to suppose will be the case,) it would be on their part a direct and manifest violation of the law. I rely on the good sense and proper feeling of the great body of the Church for preventing them from adopting any general prospective regulations on this subject, which may be injurious to its interests, and also of protecting the rights of patrons, and of legally qualified presentees from being capriciously invaded by any of the subordinate authorities of the Church.—I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, yours most faithfully,

MELVILLE."

In one of the preceding letters allusion is made to a dinner to be given to Dr. Hunter. The occasion of this dinner was Dr. Hunter's having reached his fiftieth session as Professor of Humanity. Upon the day appointed, a distinguished company assembled to do honour to the venerable professor. After all due recognition had been made of Dr. Hunter's literary character and services, Dr. Chalmers rose and spoke as follows:—

"I rise to propose a toast founded on a circumstance which regards our venerable friend, and the statement of which, to this meeting of his pupils, I trust he will not feel to be a liberty that is altogether unpardonable. All of us are aware of the lustre which he has thrown around our University by his services in the capacity of a professor; but all perhaps are not equally aware of the services which he has rendered to our town in the capacity of a citizen, and with what success he has brought his philosophy to bear on an object that stands connected with the comfort and convenience of all our families. Some of us are old enough to recollect the difficulties under which St. Andrews went to labour from the irregular or the deficient supply of water, to obviate which many were the plans and the proposals of a former generation. If I mistake not, there was at one time a general subscription formed, and Dr. John Hill of Edinburgh, whose summer residence was in this place, and the exuberance of whose humour flowed over upon every subject that he had to do with, sent round an address upon the occasion to 'all *well* disposed persons.' At length, however, water was brought in by pipes from the country; but this was far from terminating the discomfort, and even the universal distress, to which the population were exposed from the want of water. One principal obstruction arose from a cause to which other places are equally liable, but which

in this place alone, at least for a good many years, was met and overcome by a most simple, but not on that account a less beautiful or effective piece of mechanism, and for which the public stands indebted to Dr. Hunter as its inventor, and in which invention we can observe that very essential power, which gives our much honoured instructor such unrivalled mastery over the intricacies and the combinations of language. It would almost require a diagram to do anything like justice to his contrivance; but may I entreat the indulgence of the company for one or at most two minutes while I go over it very rapidly? The long continuous pipe then, has two extreme apertures—one of which delivers the water into the reservoir of the city, and the other receives the water at the fountainhead in the country. This pipe undulates in its progress with the variations of that surface beneath which it passes, so as to have upper and lower flexuses, bending at one time convexly when the surface rises into a height, and at another time concavely when it sinks into a hollow. Now it is at the upper bend that the impediment to the flow of water is found, and that from a cause which did not escape the sagacity of him who so well has neutralized it. When the supply of water slackens at the fountainhead, it of course sinks lower, and may at length come down to a level with the aperture that is there. It is then that air mixes with the water; and forced a certain way along the pipe, lodges and accumulates in the upper bends of it, from which position it refuses to be moved—seeing that in this case the greatly lighter substance would have to descend in one direction or other through the heavier, and so it gathers into an impassable obstruction, through which the water cannot by any possibility find its way. The clumsy and operose expedient for getting rid of this air in all other places was by turn-cocks at each of these upper bends, which often being very numerous, from the uncertainty in which of them it was that the resistance obtained, had often all of them to be visited ere the flow of water could be restored.

"Now I know not whether to admire most the simplicity or the complete success of that admirable device by which this whole inconvenience and labour have been superseded. There had long been in operation within the city reservoir a piece of mechanism which consisted of a floating ball, connected by a rod with a lid or a stop-cock, that shut the aperture when it rose to a certain level, and so prevented an overflow of water when the supply was too liberal. But it never had occurred that this very apparatus might be taken to the fountainhead, and by a sort of converse process, might shut the aperture there on the water sinking a certain way, and so as to prevent its ever coming down to the level of the aperture, even

when the supply was too scanty. It is thus, by a constant force of superincumbent water, that all air is excluded from the pipe. These intermediate obstructions which proved so troublesome before, were all got the better of by a preventive apparatus at the fountainhead; and now without let or hindrance has the water flowed on for many years, and not in one instance has occurred that interruption which before had been so frequent and so vexatious.

"I cannot but wonder and feel grateful, my Lord, at the patience wherewith this description has been listened to. I am sure it is most inadequate, and would therefore recommend to those whose curiosity has been at all excited, that they would look at the mechanism with their own eyes. Might I venture to suggest it as a good subject for a refreshing walk to-morrow morning; when perhaps, too, we shall find it equally refreshing to have a little of the pure beverage to the bargain.

"I have just a very brief application to make of this narrative. And first, why is Dr. Hunter not generally known as the inventor of this most useful apparatus?—just because he has been at no pains whatever to make himself known; just because of that pure and strong relish for the substance of philosophy, which is so often accompanied with an utter indifference to the fame of it; just because the spirit which is enough regaled by the new truths and utilities of science, is generally devoid of all taste and of all care for the blazoning of its renown, and in its own world of beautiful speculation, finds so much to delight and to satisfy, that it scarcely feels any sensible addition to the enjoyment in the applauses of that tamer and grosser world which is around it."

As in one of the letters given above there is an allusion to Professor Jardine, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of inserting here the following éloge upon him, delivered by Dr. Chalmers, in his class-room at St. Andrews, on the 1st February 1827:—

"When a man of conspicuous merit or lofty reputation dies, then, beside the general emotion which is felt throughout the public at large, there is a stronger, because more special emotion felt in the select circle either of the acquaintanceship by whom he was surrounded, or of the profession to which he belonged. And according to the profession either one or another place is made the more appropriate for giving utterance to this deeper and more concentrated sympathy—as on the decease of an eminent clergyman it is generally the pulpit where allusion to his virtues is made, or on the decease of an eminent lawyer the judge upon the bench has been known to memorialize the talents and the eloquence which threw a lustre on the body

over whom he presides. And, in like manner, we cannot think any situation more becoming or more characteristic than the academic chair for the conveyance of all those feelings, whether of admiration or tenderness, which are awakened in the heart on the decease of one who sustained for half a century the character of a prince and a patron among academic men. These observations have been suggested to me by the death which has just taken place of Professor Jardine of Glasgow, of which melancholy event I two days ago received an intimation. It is not because in him the individual who now addresses you has lost one of his most venerated and valuable friends that I at present allude to this painful intelligence, but because in him the professorial society of Scotland has lost one of the brightest of its ornaments. The authorship which he has left behind him, valuable as it is, is not an adequate representation either of the genius of the man or of the mighty service which, in the course of his most useful and respectable life, he has rendered to the literature of Scotland. For if he do not stand before the eye of the public encircled by the halo of personal lustre around himself, it is well known that he awoke in other minds the inspiration of genius, and has been, in fact, the instrumental cause of that glory which now irradiates many of the most distinguished names of our present generation. If he has not contributed much in the way of literature himself, he, in a peculiar sense, was the creator of literary men, and by the admirable tact wherewith he could accommodate himself, whether by impulse or direction, to the capacities of the juvenile mind, he has really, though remotely, originated many of the best publications of our age. It is the unseen touch of his masterly hand on the springs of the inner mechanism which has given rise to many of those visible evolutions that have covered the immediate and ostensible actors with all the honours which are awarded to intellectual greatness. This was the proud achievement of Jardine, and gave him a prouder station than any which the vulgar aristocracy of rank or wealth has to offer, even a station of pre-eminence and profound respect in the literary commonwealth of our land.

"But it is not because of this peculiarity, but of another by which he was still more ennobled, that I cannot resist the temptation which this opportunity has afforded me of doing honour to his name. From the beginning to the end of his days he was the incorruptible champion of college purity and college independence, and held in lofty disdain the grovelling policy which would transform a university into the arena of a commonplace ambition, or the professors who filled its chairs into a set of servile and sordid office-bearers. He has done more than any of his day to ward off this vile and vulgar desecration from the seats of philosophy; nor shall I regret the

feeble homage which I have now rendered to his memory, if I can but awaken in a single bosom of those who now hear me—perhaps the professors and the academicians of a future age—if I can but awake among them one spark of that high and generous enthusiasm by which he was actuated."

APPENDIX C.—P. 132.

On Dr. Chalmers's return to St. Andrews he drew up the following paper. The subscription, however, which it was intended to further unfortunately made no progress.

"The pupils and admirers of the late Dr. Thomas Brown, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the College of Edinburgh, have resolved to express their veneration for his memory by the erection of a monument. The promoters of this measure are quite aware that some of the leading doctrines of his philosophy are deemed by many to be yet unsettled; and they would therefore propose it, not as a testimony of entire discipleship on the part of the subscribers, but of reverence for that transcendent genius which blended together all that was most graceful in fancy with all that was most arduous and recondite in original speculation.

"On this subject they make a confident appeal to the understanding and the taste of those who either heard him from the chair, or who have perused that masterly course of lectures which has since been given to the world. They make a still more confident appeal to the hearts of those who have felt the charms of his companionship. Never was the severely intellectual more beautifully attempered than in him with the gentleness of every private virtue—and in this combination of character there was something even still more engaging than in the rarer combination of his talents. The latter, however, is more obvious to the general eye; and there are none who have followed him in his fine analytic processes, who can have failed to remark the facility, yet the elegance, wherewith he could intersperse the lighter graces of poetry amongst the demonstrations of a profound and original metaphysics. Never was philosophy so abstruse, yet never was it seasoned so exquisitely, or spread over a page so rich in all those Attic delicacies of the imagination and the style, which could make the study of it attractive.

"There is a philosophy not more solid or more sublime of achievement than his, but of sterner frame, that would spurn 'the fairy dreams of sacred fountains, and Elysian groves, and vales of bliss.' For these he ever had most benignant toleration, and himself sported among the creations of

poetic genius. And surely there is nought more fascinating than the kindness and complacency with which philosophy in some of the finer spirits of our race can make her graceful descent into an humbler but lovelier region than her own—where '*the Intellectual Power bends from his awful throne a willing ear and smiles.*'

"It is left with the majority of subscribers both to determine what the monument shall be, and to select the spot on which it shall be raised. Were it the purpose of this erection to perpetuate and uphold the fame of Dr. Brown, the question of its locality might well be deemed a thing of indifference. But there are other considerations by which the subscribers will be affected differently. And while there are some who, under the impulse of sentiment, may feel that the most expressive act of homage to the individual is an act of homage to the place of his birth; there be many others who, consulting the interests of science, shall regard the metropolis of Scotland as the fittest place for the exhibition of its trophies—and more especially, as it is the city of greatest academic resort in our land, and where he himself described the brief but brilliant career of his academic labours."

APPENDIX D.—P. 154.

The reader will peruse with interest the following simple memorials of the piety of Dr. Chalmers's mother in the last years of her life.

"*Anstruther, 1st March*, 1823.

"This day, I, Elizabeth Chalmers, have advanced to the age of seventy-three; and when I look back on the years that are past, I think I have often done what I ought not to have done, and left undone what I ought to have done. I have not borne the trials and troubles of life with patience and resignation, submitting myself to the will of Almighty God. I have often sought for relief from my own endeavours when I should have sought for comfort from God. I can see nothing in me and in all I have done but that which is exceeding sinful. I pray God be merciful to me a sinner. I can have no comfort or relief from myself, but my trust and comfort come from Almighty God, who has manifested Himself to sinners through Jesus Christ His Son, in whom I believe, and trust my sins will be forgiven me through Him who died for sinners; and I believe I have an interest in His dying love, and trust He will not separate my soul from my body until He separate me from all sin. I feel impressed with the thought that

I will not live another year; but God's will be done in and about me. I pray God while I live I may live to His glory, and that the remaining short time of my life may be better spent than that which is past, believing that Almighty God, through Jesus Christ, will prepare me for death, judgment, and eternity, and that He will never leave me nor forsake me, and through all the infirmities of old age, and at a dying hour, He will support me and give me the light of His countenance, and will send His Spirit to comfort me through the valley of death, and make me firmly trust in the Lord Jesus Christ."

"*March* 1, 1824.

"The Lord has been pleased to add another year to my life: May He add unto me grace and goodness. I acknowledge that it is from Him that all that is good in me comes. I desire to live to His glory, and to be more and more renewed and sanctified, relying on the righteousness of Jesus Christ for acceptance. I hope and believe that when I die I shall be taken unto His heavenly kingdom, and while I live He will never leave me nor forsake me."

"*March* 1*st*, 1825.

"I am now at the advanced age of seventy-five. I desire to be resigned to the will of Almighty God, that whether He pleases to call me out of this world before another year is at an end, or continue me longer in the world, I say from my heart, the will of the Lord be done. I trust that whether living or dying He will be my help and my guide, and will, through the merits of Jesus Christ, take me to His heavenly kingdom when I die."

"*March* 1*st*, 1826.

"My God has added another year to my life, and though labouring much under the infirmities of old age, yet Almighty God has been merciful to me in keeping me in the use of reason, the faculties of my mind being as entire as when I was young. I am greatly supported and greatly encouraged to go on in my Christian life, as the Lord gives me the light of His countenance. I cannot be enough thankful for the goodness of God towards me, and I trust He will always be merciful to me, and continue His love; this I hope for through Jesus Christ, my Saviour, in whom is my hope and confidence. May my days, if continued longer on earth, be spent to the glory of God and love to my neighbour, and may my heart be fixed, trusting in the Lord, and believing on Jesus Christ as my Saviour and Redeemer, and the Holy Spirit as my sanctifier and leader."

APPENDIX E.—P. 164.

"In the history of this distressing case I do feel there is one ground of comfort when I observe the Presbytery of Skye charging Mr. M'Leod with contumacy rather than with conscientious scruples. This is tantamount to an admission on their part, that were he actuated by conscientious scruples alone, he should be dealt gently with. The contumacy is spoken of as an aggravation; and let us therefore hope, that should the proceedings of the minister of Bracadale be shewn to be divested of this, it would recommend him to, at least, the indulgent consideration of his brethren. Now, in as far as that part of the charge is concerned, he is certainly on higher vantage ground than at the time when the libel of the Presbytery was drawn up. He has submitted to the views of the Presbytery on the matter of his suspension: he has given up his own will to that of his immediate superiors: he defers—and I am not sure that he is right in doing so—to the interpretation which his colleagues have given of the Assembly's sentence, as if it were still in force against him. But I enter no further into this than to notice the subsequent conduct of Mr. M'Leod as being the indication of the very reverse of contumacy. At a heavy expense to his own feelings he has abstained from the duties of the pastoral office, and now stands before the Assembly in an attitude, to say the least of it, more fitted to conciliate his judges than he did before the Presbytery at the time when the charges of the libel were constructed against him.

"Having said this much of the alleged contumacy, I feel less difficulty in characterizing the difficulties of Mr. M'Leod on the subject of baptism as partaking, to a certain degree, of the nature of scruples or scrupulosities—the difficulties, I am persuaded, of a thoroughly honest, but somewhat withal of an unenlightened conscience—of a conscience tender and sensitive and fearful, yet requiring the guidance of minds that have more of Christian experience, without, at the same time, having less of Christian principle and devotedness than his own. I regard him as the victim of certain tremulous sensibilities, which, however, call for anything rather than harsh and domineering treatment at the hands of his ecclesiastical superiors. There is a certain spirit, I do think, evinced throughout his proceedings which is not altogether at one with that which the Apostle characterizes as the spirit of power and of a sound mind. I will even admit with his antagonists, though not to a thousandth part of what they contend for, that there may be weakness of character: but this is nobly redeemed by worth of character—by the obvious struggles and sincerities

of a mind that labours to be right, and whose paramount aim is not to be approved by men, but to be accepted of God.

"I can in no way go in with the barbarities which have been uttered against the gentleman whose case is at your bar. He is not the oppressor of his flock: he is their conscientious overseer. It is not in a domineering spirit that he withholds from any one of them the privilege of the Christian ordinances; it is in the spirit of a right and religious tenderness—right, I mean, as to the feeling and the general principle of it, whether right or wrong in its special application. Even though wrong, this does not preclude him from the affection due to a brother, and from the veneration due to a man of his sensitive and spiritual delicacies. I might differ from him in judgment, and yet could not find it in my heart to have aught of the spirit of an adversary towards him; and I do think that scruples and sensibilities such as his ought to be dealt with in the spirit, and spoken to in the accents of gentleness. This is not a case for tyranny or for terror: it is a case for deepest sympathy. This is not an occasion on which to raise the tomahawk that strength or power has put into our hands, and brandish it aloft in brutal and barbaric triumph over the trembling victim who is beneath us. There is nought more revolting in cruelty than the skill and subtlety of its ingenious refinements; and never is the exhibition of it more purely Satanic than when it rides over the sensibilities of an afflicted conscience, and selecting the part of greatest tenderness, can feast its eyes over the agonies of the spiritual, even as councils and inquisitors of old did over the agonies of the sentient nature.

"The case before us puts me in mind of an American controversy of sixty years back, which throws great light on the question of the sacraments, and that because the parties have taken the extreme opposites of the question; so that in passing from the one to the other, the intermediate truth may possibly come under the near cognizance and observation of the inquirer. One party contend that all, even the profane and profligate, should partake of the sacraments; another party, that none but the pious should be admitted to them. Now, both parties might be in the wrong. For the decent regulation of the visible Church, it is well that the visibly profane or profligate are kept away; and, accordingly, our Church has enacted the penalty of exclusion against certain notorious and specific delinquencies. But, on the other hand, it is wrong to say that none but the pious should be admitted, which is, indeed, a very different thing from saying that none but the pious should go. The position that none but the pious should be admitted, brings the responsibility on the administrators of the ordinance. The position that none but the pious should go, lays the

responsibility on the partakers of the ordinance. Our excellent brother has, I fear, unnecessarily saddled himself with the former responsibility. It is true, he admits in his answer to the Presbytery, that he cannot see into the heart. But he can see such appearances as might indicate the state of the heart, and he seems to require such appearances as might afford the satisfactory evidence of its being under the Spirit's operation. He will not baptize without a credible profession of religion on the part of the applicants; and the credentials which he requires are such fruits or evidences in their character as might demonstrate them to be the subjects of a saving faith. Such marks of a spiritual or converted state as were borne by those who were baptized after hearing Peter—these would satisfy him: but if the marks were short of these, they would not satisfy him. It is obvious that he carries the standard higher than that if the applicant shall offer the decided indications of profaneness or profligacy, he will count it his duty to exclude him. He must, according to Mr. M'Leod, offer the decided indications of piety, ere he shall count it his duty to admit. The one is that which I grant—the other is that which I refuse to him. There must be no difficulty as to those whom he knows to be profligate or profane, and whom he can safely proceed against as such. And there must be no difficulty as to those whom he knows to be pious, and whom he can safely pronounce upon as such. But the great majority of our species are neither of the profligate nor of the pious; and the whole problem lies in the right treatment of these—the whole difficulty is with this intermediate, and, I believe, in every district of our land, with this larger class of parishioners. Now, I do think that there is a way of transferring the responsibility, and the whole responsibility, from the minister to themselves. His business is not to exclude them, but to warn them;—not to shut the door against them, but to tell them that if they dare to enter in, they do it at their peril;—to make a faithful exhibition to their understanding and their conscience of the ordinance, and of the solemn obligation which it lays upon them, and to declare in their hearing that if they take on the obligation, and will not discharge it, they just aggravate their doom in the day of reckoning. In doing this he makes no compromise. He does not let down a single requirement of Christianity. He may still hold it up in its loftiest and most spiritual character, and make protestations that if it be not their high and honest aim to realize it, they are but practising a mockery on Heaven, and turning the ordinances of the gospel into the instruments of their own condemnation. He is the instructor of his people, and not their judge. His business is to tell them their duty, and not to pronounce upon their state. He tells them, and should tell them with all force and faith-

fulness, of the things of God. The effect of the telling is a question between God and themselves. He cannot with his eye discern the secrecies of human character: but, furnished as he is with the truths and the threatenings of Scripture, he may by his voice send a note of alarm to human consciences. It is thus that he acquits himself as an administrator of the Christian ordinances; and if any do, in the face of his solemn caveats, perform that ordinance which they are unqualified to share in, the blood lieth not upon his head, but upon theirs. (Ezekiel xxxiii. 7.) I cannot but think that a right application of the principle of this passage might have helped to disembarrass the mind of our excellent brother of scruples which, judging not from Rory Shaw's child, but from the number of unbaptized children in his parish, I fear he must have carried too far; and I do feel, that without surrendering an iota of the strict and uncompromising standard of the gospel of Jesus Christ, greater numbers might have been admitted to the ordinance.

"That this is substantially a just exposition of principle, I appeal to the practice even of the most strict and godly and devoted of our clergymen. Will any one of them step forward and say, that he baptizes not without the positive evidence of the sponsors being spiritual men? Of the hundreds who sit down at their communion tables, do they require from each that he shall give the satisfactory token of his being, in the full sense and significancy of the term, a Christian? Each doubtless should require thus much of himself. Each incurs the guilt and the danger of an act of profanation who does not examine himself upon this awfully momentous question; and it is the part of the minister solemnly to warn them of the guilt, and to menace them with the danger. He cannot too urgently address himself to their consciences and their fears; and with all the deep earnestness of one who is jealous over them with a godly jealousy, it is his to fence, not with priestly excommunications, but with the terrors of the Lord, this holy ordinance against the approaches of the rash and the unwary. It is a moral barrier that he throws across their path—the barrier of sentiment and principle; and if, after this, the unworthy shall dare to force it, the whole guilt of the violation falls not upon him, but upon themselves. They have eaten and drunken not judgment unto him, but judgment unto themselves. He is clear of their blood. They shall bear their own burden, and he stands fully acquitted of his part, not by deciding upon their characters, but by bringing the high demands and obligations of Christianity to bear upon their consciences.

"I think that upon this subject I could quote Mr. M'Leod against himself. He tells us that he should baptize the children of none but those who give

satisfying evidence that they are under the Spirit's operation; and yet he tells us that he has excluded none but those who were grossly ignorant or immoral. Am I to understand from this, that all they who are not grossly ignorant or not immoral, are, in the estimation of this truly conscientious brother, spiritual men? Does he allow of no middle class in society between criminals on the one hand, and Christians on the other? According to my own view of the matter, the men of this class constitute the great majority of our species. And yet Mr. M'Leod by excluding none of them, must baptize many of whose Christianity he cannot be sure, nay, of which, by every rule of probability, he should be extremely doubtful. I am far from saying that he is wrong in thus baptizing; but I hold it of importance to remark, that his own practice is at variance with his own principle: neither, however, in practice nor in principle, so very far wrong, that this Court should, in the spirit of severity, denounce him, but at least so far bewildered, I do think, as that, in the spirit of kindness, it should appoint a feeling and a friendly committee to deal with him.

"Christians still are what they were in the days of the Apostles, a very peculiar people. They are still, we apprehend, but a saintly and a select few, who are walking in the narrow path of life; and many beside the grossly ignorant, many beside the immoral, are neither the subjects of a saving faith, nor give any evidence whatever of the Spirit's operation. What is to be done with them? They are not chargeable with the defects upon which Mr. M'Leod by his practice would exclude them. But neither are they possessed of the qualifications upon which alone Mr. M'Leod would, by his pleading, if I understand it aright, admit them. He wants, by means of his strict baptismal administration, to keep up the distinction between the Church and the world. Then he should withhold the sacraments from all the men of this intermediate character, and he should carry his interdict a great deal further than what he professes to have done—a great deal further than the immoral and the grossly ignorant. Many, many, who are neither the one nor the other, are yet without even the slightest tinge or particle of sacredness. They have the virtues of society, but they have not the virtues of the sanctuary. They are bright in humanity and honour, and even, perhaps, in all the decencies both of strictest temperance and strictest church-going, and yet may be in a state of utter bereavement as to the vitally and substantially religious principle. They are far, very far indeed, from being criminals; and yet, it may be very true, that they are just as far from being Christians. What, we repeat, is to be done with these? In respect of profligacy, there may be no overt deed that can at all be alleged against them; but in respect of profaneness there may, at

least, be no overt or no glaring deficiencies that can at all be alleged against them. Yet that were a meagre Christianity which would pronounce them, on this account, to be worthy of admission to the ordinances of the Gospel. But the question of their worth the minister is not called to decide upon. Each of these doubtful, these midway people, whom one cannot rank either with the reprobate on the one hand, or the religious on the other, must decide this question for himself. It is the part of the minister to make full exposition of the high demands of Christianity—it lies with the conscience of the people to make the application. The guilt is theirs—the danger is theirs; to repel which the minister is not to put forth the hand of his strength, but to lift the voice of his impressive warning. It is thus that he wipes his hands of them—it is thus that he makes full acquittal of his faithfulness.

"I am loath to detain the Assembly any further with the mere generalities of the subject. But Mr. M'Leod complains, and I think justly complains, that his brethren have dealt with him in this question only by the dictations of power, and not at all by the discussions of principle. For this reason alone I should feel inclined to meet him on the latter ground, and not on the former; and the more, as I am persuaded from all the attention which I have given to this case, that on the basis of principle, when mutually explained between the parties, it may be brought to a satisfactory accommodation. I cannot despair of Mr. M'Leod, and more especially since I have been made to understand that he has excluded none but those whom he deems to be the grossly ignorant or the immoral,—I cannot despair of his being brought to a right treatment of that class whom I would design as intermediate between devoted Christians on the one hand, and delinquents upon the other. Now, in reference even to the latter description of applicants, to the Rory Shaws and the Patrick M'Alisters, and that whole tribe of riotous and regardless parishioners, who desecrate the Sabbath and drink all the week, I would make even their fitness for the privilege of admission to a Christian sacrament, I would make it turn not so much on their past habits, as on the state of their present purposes. I do not see how any man whom Christ would not refuse to admit into his friendship, that we should refuse to admit to any of his ordinances. Now Christ does not refuse to admit even the chief of sinners; and if I understand aright that economy of grace under which we sit, there is flung abroad by it upon the world a wide and welcome invitation, so that even the most inveterate offender, the guiltiest of all his fellows, from the deep and crimson dye of his manifold iniquities, is invited to draw nigh. Now, to borrow the fine image of my friend Mr. Hall of Leicester, I am not for

making the gate of ordinances narrower than the gate of heaven, but think that the door of the visible Church should be at least as open as the door of Christ's mediatorship. This does not leave us without a guard wherewith to warn, if not to debar, the approaches of the unworthy. The same voice which utters the invitation, 'Come unto me all,' also utters the warning, 'He that cometh unto me must forsake all.' Such is the invitation and such the guard which accompany what may be called the gospel's great and primary overture, and they appear to me the very invitation and the very guard which might be placed in the gateway of approach to the ordinances of the gospel. The question of a man's admissibility turns, it appears to me, not on what he has been, but on what he purposes to do—not on the performances of the past, but on the promises for the future.

"On this principle I for one should have little difficulty in dealing with Rory Shaw. His admissibility to the privileges of the gospel turns, like that of every other sinner in the world, on the state of his purposes, and that can only be gathered from his credible promises. Were any such promises required at his hand? Was he willing to make profession in the face of the Church of his readiness, nay, of his resolution, to turn him from that which was evil to that which was good; to attend public worship, to renounce worldly lusts, to live soberly and righteously and godly in the world? Surely it would not have been too much for Mr. M'Leod to exact such a promise and such a profession from any applicant for the baptism of his children? And I would further ask, Is Mr. M'Leod to be allowed no discretion whatever in judging of the credibility of the man's profession? Is nothing to be confided to the delicacy and judgment of individual ministers?—and are they to be overawed and overhung at every step of their parochial administration by an inquisitorial vigilance, which might certainly be carried so far as to deprive the conscientious clergyman of all comfort and all liberty? But I feel myself utterly unfit for deciding between Mr. M'Leod and his presbytery, for really in regard to cases there is a total want of regular information. In respect of his mode of procedure with regard to the conducting of his parish baptisms, there is nothing before us; nothing, I do think, to warrant the censure of the presbytery, and far less to warrant anything half so tremendous as a deposition of the minister. The parties, I think, should simply be committed back again to their respective positions; Mr. M'Leod, on the one hand, to the discharge of his parish duties—and I do hope that he will find out a clearer way for himself in the prosecution of them than he appears from the face of his own statement to have hitherto walked in: and the Presbytery of Skye, on the other hand, to their office

as the guardians and the immediate superiors of Mr. M'Leod, who, if they should find cause to proceed against this most meritorious, though I think somewhat misled clergyman, will come up to us with such definite and precise informations on the special proceedings of their colleague, as might furnish us with the materials which we at present want for aught like an ultimate deliverance on the whole subject.

"In craving this delay, I only ask of you the same treatment for the errors of principle that you have long been in the habit of granting to the scandals of profligacy." I cannot believe for a moment of this Christian Assembly, that it will shew less indulgence to the errors of conscience than it has often done to the enormities of crime; or that when so much place is allowed to the law's difficulties and the law's delays in the prosecution of the one, that you will hurry onwards with eagerness to the last and most dreadful infliction of our Church's vengeance in your proceedings against the other. I ask you to recollect how often, for years together, parishes have to endure the obstruction in the forms of your legal administration ere they can obtain riddance from a minister whose very presence acts as a withering blight on the religion of families; and will you now hasten beyond either the call of justice, or the demands of any urgent necessity whatever, the separation of a minister from his flock, who with one voice implore his continuance in the midst of them, and whose very errors, leaning as they do to the side of virtue, have given a wholesome impulse to Christianity throughout all their habitations?"

APPENDIX F.—P. 240.

"There is much to be gathered on this subject from the lessons of the New Testament, taken in conjunction with the conduct of the early Christians. It appears to me that the spirit of the first ages of the Church is in direct opposition to the cry of the present times. The powers that be are said to be ordained of God, and yet these powers were heathen magistrates, were called ministers of God, and that at a time when there was not a Christian, and far less a Protestant magistrate in existence. Tribute was enjoined to be paid, though it swelled the magnificence and the means of an idolatrous sovereign, and who might, if he had chosen, have lavished it on the expenses of idolatry. Those things which in our day would have given rise to the fiercest contention, and to questions without number of theological casuistry, were, in the best and purest days of the Church of God upon earth, acquiesced in without a struggle, and without a murmur.

There were Christian servants who attended on the person, and Christian proprietors who ministered to the wealth, and even Christian soldiers who fought the battles of the emperors. In short, they gave up all but their conscience and their faith to idolatrous masters. Idolatry, they knew, disqualified for holding any office in the Church; but it never once entered their imagination that idolatry disqualified from holding an office in the State. The Apostle Paul would not, I am persuaded, have lent his authority and his name to the enforcement of such a disqualification. He would not have aided in compassing the deposition of Nero, even for the substitution of a Christian in his room; he would have kept within the strict limits of his ecclesiastical office, and never aimed at christianizing the government in any other way than by doing with Nero what he did with some of Nero's household—turning them to the faith. Whatever may be the right of citizens—and I do not question it—to pull a tyrant from his throne, he never, in his ecclesiastical capacity, would have put his hand to other than ecclesiastical work; that is, plied men with the overtures of the gospel as he had opportunity. To this the Christians of the primitive ages confined themselves, and by this they at length effected the christianization of the empire, when through the conversion of Constantine, whether real or nominal, the Church came into a new position, and the religion of the Bible became what is called the religion of the State. In reference to what has been alleged, by a speaker who has gone before me, from the Old Testament, it is of prime importance to remark, that on the introduction of this complex polity of Church and State, there took place nothing which could at all liken it to the theocracy of the Hebrews. There is no warrant whatever for that Judaism of spirit and principle wherewith the notions of so many in our day on the subject of the union between the ecclesiastical and the civil are so thoroughly, and I will add, so grossly infected. The flaming top of Mount Sinai in the sight of all the people—the voice of God that issued therefrom—the express and statistical provisions of a law grounded upon the temporal interests and rights of all in the commonwealth,—these were what ushered in that peculiar economy which has now passed away, in which the authority of the Church and the authority of the State were so intimately blended. There was nothing in the least like unto this in the economy of the gospel. There could not. For about three centuries there was a Christian Church, but it was a Church without a State. Each took its own several way. The State persecuted the Church or forbore at pleasure; and the Church stood to the State in the relation of duty only, not at all of power. It preached submission to rulers, it prayed for them, and in all but the things of conscience was obedient to them. It never once dreamed of religion

as being the qualification for any other crown than a crown in heaven, for any other office than an office of labour and faithfulness in that Church whose business it is to prepare a people for heaven's exercises and heaven's joys. Under these principles it grew in the midst of conflict and persecution, and was only cradled into maturity and strength by the adverse elements of an adverse world. But this change in its outward state brought no change on the principle of the gospel. It may have corrupted the practice of Christians, but it could not alter, by one iota, the nature of Christianity, whose lessons are entirely and indestructibly the same—as in its days of suffering, so in its days of prosperity and triumph. The principles and practice of the early ages are abundantly recognised in our Confession of Faith, as will appear from the following extract, which I wish my excellent friend had adverted to in the course of his argument:—'It is the duty of people to pray for magistrates, to honour their persons, to pay them tribute and other dues, to obey their lawful commands, and to be subject to their authority for conscience' sake.' Now, mark what follows, 'Infidelity or difference in religion do not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from their due obedience to him, from which ecclesiastical persons are not exempted; much less hath the Pope any power or jurisdiction over them in their dominions, or over any of their people, and least of all to deprive them of their dominions or lives if he shall judge them to be heretics, or upon any other pretence whatever.' Now, the principle on which a man ought not to be stripped of his lawful possessions is identical with the principle on which he ought not to be resisted in his lawful claims; and whoever are the judges of that lawfulness, we are not. It is a civil question, and not for us as a Church to decide upon. When the Papists were held dangerous to liberty, the Legislature shut them out from certain privileges, which they now restore on holding them to be no longer dangerous. If neither infidelity nor difference in religion, but something different from these, was the proper ground on which they were dispossessed, then, should that ground be removed, infidelity or difference in religion is not the proper ground on which they should be excluded. I speak in the very terms of the Confession of Faith. If other principles do not justify deprivation, then religion is no more a valid plea for stripping a man of his rightful power than it is for stripping him of his rightful property, and whether the question relates to the one or the other, the language of the Church of Christ should be that of its founder, 'who made me a judge and a divider over you?' Yet are we accused of putting aside principle, and resting our whole cause on the basis of expediency. Now, we hold the difference between us and our antagonists to be this: In regard to

principle, we can plead the declarations of the New Testament, and the early practice of the Church ; and in regard to expediency, ours is a public and theirs is altogether a personal expediency. The outset of our cause is in principle ; its outgoings only are in expediency ; and what a much higher expediency than that of our antagonists ? We hold that this dreaded Emancipation will open a wide and effectual door for the entrance of the gospel into Ireland. That is our expediency. Our antagonists hold that the same Emancipation will not hurt the cause of the gospel, but by means of persecution, which in general purifies and strengthens the cause of truth, will hurt the ease and the comfort, and endanger the lives of those who profess the gospel in Britain. That is their expediency. It is a fear for themselves, and not a fear for the interests of the gospel, by which they are actuated. If it be really a religious fear which is making these alarmists so tremulously alive to the changes that are coming upon us, if, after all, it be something holier and higher than a sordid fear for their persons and properties, if instead of a carnal affection for their own private interests, it be a spiritual and sacred affection for the high interests of truth and righteousness in the world, it should surely yield them some comfort to be told that never did the Church more prosper, and never did the Church's right and peculiar business go on more prosperously than when all the high places of society were filled with idolaters, and the sovereigns of the earth, besides being idolatrous despots, were the greatest monsters the world ever saw. This contemporaneous existence of a most Christian Church along with a most unchristian government, is worthy at least of being noticed by those who are now charging themselves with the regulation of the one as if that were indispensable to the regulation of the other.

" Before I have done I beg to offer a few words on the question of Establishments, and on the danger to which many think they are exposed from the measures now in agitation, the more that my able and venerable friend has charged inconsistency on those who defend the cause of Emancipation and the cause of Establishments at the same time. But ere taking up this topic, let me make a passing reference to one or two things which have fallen from the gentlemen on the opposite side of the question. We are represented as expecting conversions from Acts of Parliament, as looking for a spiritual influence from the deeds of an earthly government, and putting faith, after all, in a carnal weapon ; for we anticipate an enlargement to the cause of Christ as the result of a thing done by the King, Lords, and Commons of Great Britain. There is a subtle delusion here, and the effect of it is a complete travestizing of the whole question. The

emancipators do want Parliament to interfere, but for what?—to recall an act of former interference. We have no confidence in that deed of Parliament by which they laid the disabilities on; and what we want now is, not that any new deed shall be done by them, but that the old deed shall be undone by them. All we want of Parliament is, to recall the blunder of their own ill-judged interference, and then let us alone. We have also heard of the deeds of Councils in proof of the immutability of the Popish character, and a formal revocation of these is wanted ere we shall cease our alarms for Popery. This is not the way in which the matter proceeds. In the great changes that take place on human opinion men do not generally repeal the acts and the documents of other days, they simply lose sight of them. They are carried forward on the tide of change, and the creeds and constitutions of bygone times rank among the forgotten things that have no influence whatever on the actual generation. Yet I can imagine to myself an antiquarian, a resurrectionist of old parchments, conjuring up from the deep oblivion of ages those shades of departed folly, and telling us, because they have never been rescinded by any competent or authorized court, that we must still watch, and tremble, and be on our guard because of them. I have certainly heard of the Antiburghers of Scotland at one time denouncing the Establishment thereof as being a congeries of the synagogues of Satan, and more especially that in one of their articles they stigmatized the work at Cambuslang as being a work of the devil. I understand that there really has, within these few years, been some modification or repeal of these fulminating charges; but whether it has or not it never could affect my disposition to company in all the acts of Christian fellowship with the able and the excellent men of that persuasion. I am sensible that much is to be done ere we can look on Papists as on a footing with Antiburghers; but certain it is, that if we wait for revocations and repeals by public bodies, we may wait for ever, and that meanwhile by keeping up the distance and mutual disdain between the Protestants and the Papists, we just perpetuate an adamantine barrier in the way of all reformation.

"But let me return to my promised observations, which shall now be very few, on the subject of Establishments. By an Establishment I understand a national provision for a clergy whose office it is to dispense among the people of the land the blessings of a Christian education. This is best carried into effect by a minute and thorough subdivision of the country into parishes; an edifice being raised in each for the ministrations of the gospel, and a maintenance assigned to one ordained by the Church for expatiating among the families, both in Sabbath and week-day services. It has long been my opinion that to have such an Establishment as this is the

very highest point of Christian expediency. It is, in fact, a universal home mission. Its immediate object is not to extend the limits of Christendom without, but to traverse and thoroughly fill up its territory by a diffused ministration of the gospel everywhere within. My conviction is, that had the people been left to go in quest of Christianity themselves, instead of having it obtruded on their notice and acceptance in this way, whole provinces would have been left without any regular supply of the word and ordinances, and that all the zeal and activity of private adventurers would have but thinly sprinkled over the land that gospel which, carried to the door of every cottage, and brought into contact with all the families, should be made to pervade and leaven the general mass of the population. This was the precise character of the transition which the Church underwent in the days of Constantine. My reverend friend thinks it difficult to reconcile the doctrine of an Establishment with that of Emancipation. The proximate cause of conversion is the word of God brought home by the Spirit of God. It is desirable that there should be as extensive an application as possible of the proximate cause, and this is the object of an Establishment. But it is also desirable that this proximate cause should, when applied, be applied singly, and not be obstructed in its efficacy by any unnecessary hatred and hostility on the part of those to whom it is addressed, and this is the object of Emancipation. The Establishment secures a universal ministration: the Emancipation secures that it shall be a pure ministration of argument and of kindness. The Establishment brings the gospel into contact with all: the Emancipation does away the contact of what is fitted to obstruct the influence of the Gospel. And so the high expediency of an Establishment on the one hand, and the high principle, as well as expediency, of Emancipation, are in perfect harmony. They make out what I hold the perfection of an ecclesiastical system in every land—an Establishment on the one hand, and free unrestricted Dissenterism on the other. If there be inconsistency in these two opinions, it has with me been the rooted and habitual inconsistency of many years, for I have been long an emancipationist, and long a strenuous advocate for religious establishments. It is awkward for a speaker to quote from himself, but I beg to read one sentence from a work published without any prospect whatever of this question being agitated:—'It is on this account, we confess, that we view the preservation of a Church Establishment in Ireland as a great object of national policy, being fully persuaded that if only a right patronage, or, in other words, if wrought by zealous and efficient ministers, residing in their parishes, and expatiating on all the acts of common Christian kindness throughout their respective vicinities, it would prove the organ of a greater moral and spiritual

blessing to the land than could be achieved by any other machinery which it is possible to devise.' But I must not dilate on this topic, although I think it could easily be shewn that the principle on which I should contend for the Catholic Emancipation is in perfect harmony with that other principle on which I should contend, with equal strenuousness, for the preservation of our Protestant Establishments; even the Irish, which is held the most vulnerable of the three, being capable, simply by a right exercise of the patronage, of being turned into a machine of prodigious power, and, if only well wrought, far more effective than any which can be substituted in its room for the regeneration of that unhappy land. One of the best features of the Bill is, that there shall be no national provision for the Catholic clergy. I accept of this as a pledge that they will leave untouched the existing national provision for a Protestant clergy. I should hold it a false and ruinous step to alienate one fraction of the revenues of that Establishment, convertible as it is, in the hands of faithful, and pious, and philanthropic men, into a mightier instrument for the moral and political good of the country than any other which the united wisdom of statesmen can possibly devise.

"I have only now to say, Sir, that gentlemen have chosen to criticise my attendance and my arguments at a recent public meeting upon this question. I am not blind to the circumstance that on the opposite side there are clergymen here present who have given their name and their services to a committee of active management; yet I should esteem it a breach both of modesty and decorum to assail the motives of any of them. But what they have done for the advancement of their views in secret committees, I am not ashamed to have done for the advancement of my views in an open and public assembly, where I but advocated the one and uniform principle which I have held for twenty years upon this subject, and where I spoke no other language than what I deemed befitting the religion of truth and charity, and the honour of a Master whose kingdom is not of this world. I spoke not one word there but of the religion of the question.

"May I be permitted one word here on the politics of the question. Gentlemen would need to be strongly confident of the goodness of their cause ere they would push it to the issue of all that carnage and desolation which, in the event of the success their hearts are so much set upon, might ensue in Ireland. I rejoice in thinking that our religion rests on other foundations than those for the defence of which the sword must be unsheathed, and the cruelties of war be let abroad among the families of an unhappy land. I envy neither the opinions nor the feelings of those who could look forward without a sigh to so dread an alternative. It

reminds me of a whimsical receipt I once heard for the regeneration of Ireland, which was just to let it down to the bottom of the sea for half an hour, and then bring it up again. And really to behold the exceeding fervour, not to say fury, of many out of doors, one might be almost tempted to think that they would rather have the question settled in this way, rather have the whole population swept off from the face of the island, than have the dearly beloved enactments they so zealously contend for swept off from the face of the statute-book. I could not vote for Dr. Inglis's proposed amendment, because there is in it a clause expressive of a sense of danger, but I can vote for the counter motion. I apprehend no danger. The measure needs no security; we shall stand our ground against the Papists just as the Church of England stood her ground against the Methodists. We have nothing to fear from any species of dissenters if we are true to ourselves. Our single defence against one and all is, to out-preach, to out-pray, and to out-live them. Whatever the vote may be I sit down with a triumphant feeling of the superiority of our principle over that of our antagonists. Our sentiment is, that Protestantism can uphold itself. Theirs is, that it cannot be upheld but at the inevitable expense of blood and violence."

APPENDIX G.—P. 341.

From the manuscript in which all his Assembly preparations were entered, we extract the following prayers, and a portion of the concluding address.

"*Friday, May 18th.*

"Do Thou sanctify and solemnize our hearts, O God, by a sense of Thy presence. Thine is the greatness and the power; Thine is the august and inviolable majesty: Thou art the King of kings and Lord of lords: Thou rulest in immediate and visible presence among the armies of heaven; and though unseen by every mortal eye, Thou art not far from any one of us, but supreme also in this our lower world—Thou doest among the inhabitants of earth according to Thy pleasure.

"Enable us, O God, to realize the intimate and perpetual feeling of our dependence upon Thee—the subordination of the creature to the Creator—of the thing formed to Him who formed it. Thy hands made and fashioned us: Thy right hand upholds us continually. In Thee we live and move and have our being: and spontaneous self-willed and wayward creatures though we are, we can neither act nor think but in the strength of that God who worketh all in all.

"And Thou, O God, art the Governor as well as the maker and the preserver of men. In the righteousness of Thy holy and unchangeable nature, Thou hast instituted a righteous law; and with the authority of a master and a judge, Thou callest for the obedience thereto of all Thy children. The dwelling-place of Thy visible glory is in heaven; yet Thou sittest not there in lofty and serene indifference to the concerns of the human family below, Thou takest cognizance of every heart, and regardest with an omniscient eye all the footsteps and all the doings of every individual history. Thou art our rightful sovereign, we are Thy rightful subjects; and though forgetful of Thee by nature, we walk in the counsel of our own hearts, and after the sight of our own eyes, yet is there a throne in heaven, and a God sitting on that throne, whose eyes do behold, and whose eyelids do try the children of men.

"Ever blessed be Thy name, after we had broken Thy law, and become outcasts from Thy offended presence, Thou left us not to perish everlastingly. Thou instituted in behalf of our fallen world the gospel of salvation: Thou sent Thy Son with the message and the entreaties of reconciliation: Thou laidst upon Him the burden of all our iniquities; and after He had poured out His soul to the death for us, and was again exalted to Thy right hand, a Prince and a Saviour, Thou didst ordain a Church upon earth, whose ministers might proclaim the tidings of peace, and pardon, and immortality, whose people might abide in the faith of Thy testimonies, and might abound more and more in all the fruits of righteousness.

"May Thy best blessings, O God, rest on this portion of Thy vineyard. May the ministers of the Church of Scotland prosper more and more in their respective parishes, the faithful expounders of the doctrine of Thy Son, the bright examples of His character and life. May the power of their ministrations be felt throughout the people and the families among whom they labour, that under them there may be a goodly number in our land reclaimed to the effectual belief and the pious obedience of Christianity.

"And now, O Lord, that we have assembled to deliberate and sit in judgment on the affairs of Thy Church, do Thou accomplish Thine own promise, that where two or three are gathered together in Thy name, there wilt Thou be in the midst of them. We pray for a spirit of wisdom and a spirit of harmony; may Thy glory be the aim, Thy word be the rule, the good of Thy people the happy effect of all our deliberations. In Thy light may we clearly see light; and may all our determinations and our doings be such as shall both be approved of God, and be profitable to men.

"May Thy best blessings, O God, rest on the head of our Sovereign the King; may he, through Thy favour, be strong in the wisdom and righteous-

ness of his counsels, and strong in the attachment of his people. We pray for the Queen, and for all the branches of the Royal family. Do Thou specially bless and favour the Lord High Commissioner, who represents His Majesty in this Assembly. Do Thou hold our beloved country in the hollow of Thy hand, prospering it in all its interests, and causing pure and undefiled religion to prevail in all its towns and cottages. Be with us, O God, throughout the services of this day, and may Thy countenance and protection be with us now and ever, for Christ's sake.—Amen."

"*Saturday, May 19th.*

"Thou, O God, art the high and the holy One who inhabitest the praises of eternity: justice and judgment are the habitation of Thy throne: evil cannot dwell in Thy presence; and of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, we, the sinful children of men, dare not approach Thee but in another name than our own, and another righteousness than our own.

"Give one and all of us to feel, O God, how deeply it is that we stand in need of a Saviour: make known to every conscience the inveteracy of that moral disease wherewith our nature is tainted, the perversity of our affections in that we love the world, and either hate or are indifferent to Him who made the world, the baseness of that ingratitude which receives all, yet forgets the Giver of all, the turpitude and guilt of creatures who in heart and practice disown their God.

"May we not deceive ourselves, or lay a flattering unction upon our souls of a righteousness which we do not possess, and which, with all the energies of our depraved and undone nature, we can never realize. Ours is the worst of all rebellions, the rebellion of the will, the revolt of the inclinations from God; our whole history is deformed by the acts, and in our hearts do we carry the very seed and principle of disobedience. Deepen, O God, our convictions of sin; and as we think of Thy lofty and immutable and uncompromising law, make us to feel how impossible it is that the controversy between God and man can be settled without a punishment or without an expiation.

"Ever blessed be Thy name for the precious and peace-speaking truth that the Saviour hath died, that He became sin for us, though He knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him.

"May this blessed doctrine be sounded forth from all our pulpits, and circulated as the water of life throughout the whole length and breadth of our land for the healing of the people.

"We again implore Thy blessing on the Church of Scotland, and that Thou wouldst direct, sanctify, and prosper the business of its courts and the business of its parishes.

"We pray for his majesty the King, the Queen, and all the branches of the Royal family, for the judges and magistrates of the land, and for the maintenance of sound principle and order throughout the population.

"We pray for Thine especial countenance and favour on that noble person who represents the sovereign in this Assembly of our Church. Give wisdom, give harmony to all our deliberations; as becometh the ministers and elders of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, may we sit loose to this world's passions, and loose to this world's politics. We rejoice in the amplitude of Scripture as a directory of human conduct. Taught by Thy word in our duty as men and our duty as citizens, may it be the constant habit of our lives that we both maintain for ourselves, and impress upon others, to fear God, to honour the king, to obey magistrates, to meddle not with those who are given to change, and to lead a quiet and a peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. Preside, O Lord, over the duties of this day, and be with us now and ever.—Amen."

"*Monday, May 21st.*

"Thou, O God, art the Ancient of days: Thy goings forth are of old, even from everlasting: Thy counsels reach from eternity to eternity; they embrace all worlds; and sitting, as Thou dost, at the head of the sublime administration, whereof we are alike unable to foretell the issues or to comprehend the whole principle and design, we who are but of yesterday, and know nothing, would cast down all lofty imaginations of our own, and patiently wait the manifestations of that day when there shall be finished and at length made known to us the mystery of God.

"But while we would refrain from these secret things which belong to Thee, we would meditate with constant delight, and give ourselves wholly to those things which belong to ourselves and to our children. More especially, O God, would we rejoice in that most precious of all Thy Revelations, even that to us a Saviour has been born. Ever blessed be Thy name, that on Him Thou hast laid the iniquities of us all, that He took upon Himself the burden of our world's condemnation; that He both made atonement for sin and brought in an everlasting righteousness. Forbid, O God, that the Cross of Christ should sound as foolishness in our ears, seeing it is only foolishness to those who perish; forbid that the doctrine of Jesus Christ and of Him crucified, should be an offence or a stumbling-block to any of us, but may it be that sure foundation on which we rest all our hopes of acceptance with God, the rock of our strength, our refuge from the tempest, our hiding-place from the storm. May it be the great theme of all our pulpits, the strength and the rejoicing of all our people, a doctrine most precious

to their hearts, and which they most love to hear, because at once the most fruitful of comfort and the most fruitful of holiness."

"*Tuesday, May 22d.*

"We desire, O God, to render our profoundest homage to the sacredness of Thy nature. Thine is a sanctuary of unspotted holiness; Thine is a throne of judgment, whence Thou wilt not stoop to any weak unworthy compromise with sin. Thou art a God who canst not be mocked; and heaven and earth must pass away ere any one of Thy words can pass away.

"May we hold it no light matter, O God, that we have broken Thy commandments, and that the truth and the righteousness of the nature which is unchangeable are against the workers of disobedience. Wherewithal, then, shall we appear before God; and how shall we, frail and worthless and polluted as we are, how shall we draw nigh to that high and holy One whose authority we have tampered with, and from the glory and perfection of whose law we have so miserably fallen?

"Ever blessed be Thy name, O God, that the Gospel of Thy Son hath resolved this mystery, that there mercy and truth have met together, righteousness and peace have entered into fellowship. We rejoice in this great salvation, uniting as it does good-will to men with glory to God in the highest, and enabling us to confide in Thy mercy, while we hold in unbroken reverence all the attributes of Thy nature.

"May we never forget, that while forgiveness is held out to all in the gospel of Thy Son, it is forgiveness through the blood of the Divine atonement; and that while there a way of free and easy access is opened up to each of us, still it is a consecrated way, and marked throughout with every demonstration of Thine implacable repugnance to moral evil; and returning to peace may we return to the purity and the piety from which we had fallen; and working out our salvation may we count it not enough that we escape from the sufferings of hell. Give us to know, and to proceed upon the knowledge, that we must aspire after the sacredness of Heaven—must realize that holiness of heart and life without which no man shall see God."

"*Wednesday, May 23d.*

"We would again, O Lord, bless and magnify Thee as the great preserver of men, in that Thou hast spared us to the light of another day: Thou hast lengthened out to us the season of grace and of opportunity; we are yet in the land of the living and in the land of hope; Thy beseeching voice is calling upon us to turn and to enter into the offered reconciliation of the Gospel; may we no longer put its gracious invitations away from us; may

we no longer postpone the good work of faith and of repentance; to-day, while it is called to-day, may we harden not our hearts, but ere the accepted time is over may we flee from the coming wrath, and flee for refuge to the hope set before us.

"But let us forget not, O God, what is the whole errand of the Saviour, that He came not merely to deliver us from the coming wrath, but also to deliver us from a present evil world, with its wretched train of pollutions and vanities; not merely to justify but to sanctify men, to establish our feet on the path of peace, but that being also a path of progressive holiness. Naming His name, therefore, may we prosecute a strenuous departure from all iniquity; professing His doctrine and knowing it to be the doctrine according to godliness, may we henceforth deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and live soberly, and righteously, and godly in the present evil world.

"Deliver, O Lord, our country and our Church, both from that infidelity which disowns the gospel of Jesus Christ, and from that heresy which would pervert it to the encouragement of licentiousness among men. May our ministers be at all times enabled by their learning and resistless arguments *firmly* to set forth the truth of Christianity, and by the virtues of their own example and that of their elders, to set forth its righteousness in the world. May theirs be at once the doctrine of faith and of a good conscience; and may it give cheering evidence of its power in a goodly number of those who, while they profess to believe on the Lord Jesus, walk in all the ordinances and commandments of the Lord blameless."

"*Thursday, May 24th.*

"Thou sittest, O God, on a throne of righteousness: but ever blessed be thy name, Thou hast turned it into a throne of grace, to which sinners, even the chief, may draw nigh, that they might obtain mercy to pardon and grace to help them. Realize upon us, O God, the whole of this great salvation, a salvation from the future punishment, and a salvation from the present power of sin. Let us never separate these; let us never put asunder the things which God hath joined, that we may thus be both justified and sanctified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God. We rejoice, O God, in the completeness of that provision which Thou hast instituted for the recovery of our undone world; and we desire to conform ourselves in all its parts to the economy of our redemption: We would place our constant dependence on that atoning sacrifice by which the guilt of sin is done away; we would make our daily and habitual application for that sanctifying spirit by which the power and the existence of sin are done away. We rejoice that after Christ poured out His soul unto the

death for us; having borne the burden of our sins in His body on the tree, He rose again and was exalted to Thy right hand, and there obtained gifts for the rebellious, and most pre-eminent of all, the promise of the Father, even the Holy Ghost given to them who believe, and enabling them to achieve a greater victory than that of any sensible miracle over the laws of the external world, even a moral and spiritual victory over the perversities of our corrupt will, and the headstrong affections of a sadly distempered nature. Enable us, O God, through the promised aid of Thy divine Spirit, to maintain a strenuous and successful warfare with those enemies of the soul. O give us to experience, that when we commit ourselves in prayer to the grace that is laid up for us in the Lord Jesus, we are borne off from every scene of duty and of discipline more than conquerors through Him who loved us."

"*Friday, May 25th.*

"We again, O Lord, with deepest reverence, would present ourselves before Thee, alike impressed by a sense of Thy majesty, and by a sense of Thy sacredness. May we not draw near with our mouths or honour Thee with our lips while our hearts are far from Thee. Do Thou effectually restrain the approaches either of heedlessness or of hypocrisy: May we not affront the God who cannot be mocked by the homage of our deceitful semblances, of our unmeaning forms; may ours be the actual prostration of the soul, and of all that is within us, at the footstool of Thy throne, a real approach to Thy presence, a substantial intercourse of spirit with the living God.

"And may the sense and the power of religion be felt throughout all our history, extending to all our works and to all our ways. May we never forget, that for all the deeds done in the body, there is a high and heavenly witness above us, and a day of solemn reckoning before us. May we ever feel the mighty bearing of time upon eternity; may we live by the powers of a coming world. While we rejoice in Jesus Christ as the Lord our Saviour, may we bear a constant respect to Him as the Lord our Master and our Judge, that ours may be the religion of life, taking the direction of all our concerns, and mingling its influence with the minutest actions of our history.

"And give us, O Lord, not merely to feel our responsibility as men, but solemnly and conscientiously to feel our responsibility as ministers, to whom has been entrusted the guidance and guardianship of human souls, the care of spirits that are unperishable; may we know what it is, each in his own sphere, to watch and to labour as they who must give account. We pray to God for a blessing on the parishes of our beloved land, for the revival of pure and undefiled religion in our towns and cottages, for the growth of piety and of Christian principle in the midst of us, for the right-

eousness that exalteth a nation, and as an essential means to so great an accomplishment, for that pure and powerful ministration of the Gospel by which alone the cause of practical righteousness can be effectually upholden."

"*Saturday, May 26th.*

"Thou, O God, dwellest in light that is inaccessible and full of glory, which no man hath approached neither can approach to: Thou art throned in mystery, and travellest in secret places for purposes to us unknown, by ways to us unsearchable. Give us to feel the inferiority of our distance from God, from the King eternal, immortal, and invisible, whose goings forth are of old even from everlasting, whose counsels reach to eternity and embrace all worlds.

"But what we have deeply to mourn, O God, is not that Thou art absent from our sight, but that Thou art hourly and habitually absent from our thoughts: We do not reproach ourselves that Thou art beyond the powers of our understanding, but we do reproach ourselves that the inclinations of our heart are not towards Thee. We feel, and would make mention of it as the sorest blemish in our moral constitution, that by nature we care not for God, that the Being who made us is practically and perpetually disowned by us, that though Thine eye be constantly fastened upon us, yet our eye is constantly averted from Thee; that through the successive hours of every day we are engrossed with the creature to the exclusion or utter forgetfulness of the Creator, and that abandoning ourselves to the wayward-ness of our own movements, we walk in earthliness all the day long, and live without God in the world.

"Send forth, O God, from Thy sanctuary, and may the Holy Spirit, whose office it is to bring all things to our remembrance, keep us ever in remembrance of God. Take to Thyself Thy great power and reign over our hearts. Maintain within us at all times that ascendency which of right belongs to Thee. Do Thou assert Thine own prerogative over the creatures Thine own hands have made, that with consciences touched and solemnized by a sense of God, we may ever walk as if in Thy presence, and as if we saw Thee though Thou art invisible."

"*Monday, May 28th.*

"We again, O Lord, invoke Thy presence in the midst of us; accomplish Thine own promise, that where two or three are met together in the name of Thy Son, there He will be in the midst of them to bless them and to do them good. May the honour and interest of His Church upon earth be the constant aim; may the word which He hath left behind Him be the con-

stant rule of our deliberations. Do Thou bless and prosper all the measures of our ecclesiastical body for the good of human souls, and may such be the acts and such the actings of this Assembly, as beneficially to operate on the Christianity even of our remotest parishes.

" We pray, O God, for Thy rich blessing on each of its individual members; may the especial favour of God rest upon their habitations: Do Thou deeply impress one and all of them with that personal religion, the influence of which might descend with wholesome influence on their families and on their flocks: Do Thou conduct them in safety to their respective houses, that with peace in every neighbourhood, and the smile of a propitious heaven, they may resume their labours.

" Do Thou accept, O God, of our ardent and united prayers in behalf of the Church of Scotland; may no weapon framed against her ever prosper; may she sit enthroned on the reverence and the best affections of the people. Above all, O God, be Thou her strength and her unfailing security; that even though forcibly assailed by the opposition of human policy or human power, the purity of her doctrine and the bright example of her ministers may bear her up and perpetuate her usefulness in the midst of an ungodly generation.

" And may Thy best blessing, O God, rest on our beloved land. We are unable to scan the designs of Providence; we are unable to foretell the tides or the fluctuations of history. Do thou prepare us for every visitation. Do thou exalt our hearts in the midst of all coming vicissitudes by the sublime confidence that the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. If it be Thy blessed will, may there be truth, and peace, and righteousness in our day; but if Thou hast otherwise ordained, may we never let go our dependence on Thy government and power, but even among the sorrows and the adversities of Thy sorest chastisement, give us to cherish the triumphant hope that all will emerge in a great and glorious revival, and those days of perfect light and perfect virtue which are coming."

CONCLUDING ADDRESS.

" Right Reverend and Right Honourable,—Now that this laborious, and withal most important Assembly is about to terminate, I cannot enter on the customary and concluding address, without prefacing it by my sincerest acknowledgments for the indulgence wherewith you have favoured me. I approached the high and honourable place to which your suffrages have preferred me, with a deep sense of my inadequacies for its duties; but the kindness of my brethren, if it have not repaired, has at least made ample allowance for all my deficiencies.

"One of our most essential privileges, and wanting which our character as a deliberative body would be altogether destroyed, is that we shall be at liberty to prosecute our lengthened investigations, and to pass our independent judgments thereupon, without the disturbance of aught like violence from without. Yours is the twofold work of judgment and legislation—the proper work of needful times; and to the right performance of which, either peace and security on the one hand, or on the other an intrepid exercise of the mental faculties, even in the midst of agitations and storms, is wholly indispensable. Neither the government of the State nor the government of the Church can be soundly and prosperously conducted if the high prerogatives of the mind are overborne; or if those specious plausibilities which strike the imagination on the instant shall, by means of menace and external urgency, be admitted to supersede the leisurely, and laborious, and well-weighed results of the understanding. It is well, therefore, that by the constitution of our Church the civil power leaves us unfettered in all our decisions on matters ecclesiastical; and better still, when holding our counsels in the midst of an intelligent and orderly population, we are free to follow the light of Scripture and the light of our own minds, uncontrolled by the yet more frightful tyranny—the tyranny which would subject us to the fear of man that is a snare, or would lead us to please man rather than please God.

"But while I have thus been led to speak of the violence to which, particularly in a season of great public and popular excitement, our deliberations may be exposed from without, let me not disguise the possibility of a like disturbance to our proceedings by an effervescence from within. To this possibility I all the more readily advert, that with pride and satisfaction I can appeal to the retrospect of so many successive Assemblies, on the theatre of which there have so often been exhibited the most strenuous conflicts of principle, without one example of acrimony. On this subject our ecclesiastical body has been exposed to unmerited imputations, and this because a distinction has not been sufficiently made between the vehemence of passion and the vehemence of sentiment. The language of strong conviction is often mistaken by hearers for the language of irritation, and the utterance of a mind actuated by an urgent feeling of the truth and importance of its argument, is at times confounded with the utterance of a mind actuated by hostility, not against the adverse doctrine, but against the adversary who holds it. There must thus be an utter misinterpretation of what I should term the whole tone and character of our deliberation by those who know not how possible it is to reconcile firmness in public with the most perfect mildness and amiability in private life,

and more especially, how soon it is that after quitting the stormy element of debate we lapse again into social and affectionate intercourse, with every sentiment of wonted friendship and all the charms of social brotherhood unimpaired.

"Under the blessing of Heaven our Church owed her original Establishment in Scotland to the purity of her doctrines. Let us fondly cherish the hope that she will continue to retain her hold over all the Christian and well-principled of our land, by the righteousness of her decisions. While she, on the one hand, repudiates all that is lax and latitudinarian in principle, and on the other, represses all the pretensions of an extravagant fanaticism, her safety lies in the full recognition of Scripture and in the purity of her own standards as founded upon Scripture. By this perpetual appeal to the law and to the testimony we shall be saved from every fluctuation. The caprices of human taste and human imagination are ever varying, but the truth of God is eternal. The smiles of power and the smiles of popularity may for a season fail us, but the doctrines of the everlasting Gospel will never fail us. Framed in the sanctuary of heaven, and adapted to all the wants of our moral nature upon earth, they will maintain their standing throughout all the vicissitudes of opinion and all the forms of society. Amid the incessant changes, or menaces of change, which are going on around us, a stable and consistent Church, adhering to the faith of our forefathers, itself the faith of primitive Christianity, affords a spectacle for the eye to rest upon, because the depository of a system which no power on earth can overthrow, of a religion at once the solace of life and the hope of eternity, drawn from the records of inspiration, and against which neither an infidel science nor an infidel politics ever can prevail.

"But highly as we estimate the Christian good that is done by the rectitude of your public acts, it is not in these that your whole, nay, it is not in these that your chief or most important usefulness lies; much as the interest of the Gospel depends on your conduct in courts, far more essentially, and to a vastly greater extent, does it depend on your conduct in parishes. It is *here* where your doings are of most effect in gracing the superstructure, but it is *there* where your doings are of most effect in strengthening the foundations of such an Establishment. Let each minister but cultivate as he ought the homework of his own peculiar vineyard, and then spread and multiplied over the land will the cause of our Church be ranked with the dearest interests of families; striking, as it were, by means of your parochial attentions, its thousand roots widely, to the remotest outskirts, and deeply, to the very bosom of Scottish society. All the gusts of political violence will never overset our ark, if thus moored in the affec-

tions of the people, and fastened, if I may employ such an image, to a million of hearts, by ligaments that cannot be dissolved even by undoing the constitution of the State, because they cannot be dissolved without undoing the constitution of humanity. I express myself with such strength of confidence on this subject because of my firm persuasion that among all the relations of human life there is no individual on higher vantage ground for gaining a secure and permanent hold over the affections of his neighbourhood than the parish clergyman—the man who expatiates through the week in all the ministrations of Christian kindness, and on the Sabbath, with the authority of his high office, and impressions of his high theme, urges home the provisions of eternity on the arrested audience. They cannot, though they would, withhold their gratitude and good-will from the man who, in the pulpit, solemnizes their consciences, and throughout their habitations brings the omnipotence of his charity to bear upon them, who lends the charm of his sympathy and presence to every scene of family distress, and mingles with the group of parochial mourners at every funeral, and is recognised by the humblest cottager as the best friend of themselves and of their children, and who, charging himself with the sacred oversight of the people's education and the people's character, causes his influence to be alike felt by young and old as their great moral benefactor, the guardian of the highest and dearest of their interests. There is no power on earth that could dethrone such a man from the ascendency that services like these must gain for him over the hearts of a willing people. Let the Church be composed of such men, and sentence of annihilation pronounced against it by any legislature were of as little force as would an enactment of human authority to deprive men of their moral and physical nature. The overthrow of such a Church would be felt throughout the land in the light of a personal calamity. A million hearts would rise to heaven, a million voices be lifted up for its defence and preservation.

"Let us not disguise from ourselves that this is an age of peculiar hostility to religious establishments, nor can we anticipate how soon, in the dizzy succession of events that are taking place around us, we may be called upon, for the sake of our nation's Christianity, to stand forth in their defence. But we must not forget that the weapons of our warfare are spiritual and not carnal; that it is not ours to wield the arm of strength; and that, in this remarkable period of human society, when nothing but the polemic voice is held in estimation, it will little avail us to ply the devices of wily or subservient politics. Such we hold to be the intrinsic merits of our cause, the fearless assertion of truth on the field of argument may prove of some service to us; yet it is not even here where the main

secret of our strength lies, but in the efficacy of our believing prayers, in the purity of our doctrines, and more especially in the resolute maintenance of that great truth, so well denominated by Luther 'the article of a standing or falling church,' in the consistency of our lives and worth of our services, in the assiduous cultivation each of his own parish, by which alone we may say the Church of Scotland will become identified with Scotland itself, and be indeed an Establishment by establishing for herself an imperishable interest in the hearts and homes of all our populations.

"But, after all, let us never forget that our main security is in God. We can only be strong in the attachment of our country so far as we are strong in the protection of Him who has a real, though unseen and often unacknowledged, ken of all the advantages that we enjoy. The favour of man is in itself but an earthly blessing, and only of substantial or permanent benefit to our Church if it spring from a heavenly source. That favour, when purchased at the expense of truth and principle, is a destroying snare, and is only to be prized when coming from that hand which turneth the hearts of men whither it will, and given in fulfilment of the promise, that when our ways please God He will make even our enemies be at peace with us."

APPENDIX H.—P. 462.

"EDINBURGH, 29*th January* 1835.

"DEAR DR. CHALMERS,—In reference to our conversation of yesterday, I am very anxious for your aid in solving sundry questions relative to the increase of Church-Accommodation in Scotland.

"I deem it right to premise, that when last in office I interested myself particularly in regard to this matter. I carried through the Highland Church Act, and had many official conferences regarding Church-Accommodation in the Lowlands. In this last pursuit, I was arrested by the difficulty arising from the question of endowment, no grant of such a nature having been made in England.

"I now believe that the discussion may be renewed under more favourable auspices. Instead, therefore, of wasting time in considering the propriety of a grant, which I would willingly hope is unnecessary, let us apply ourselves to practical points which must be dealt with.

"Knowing how well informed you are on the subject, and how anxious you have been for its attainment, I readily apply to you on the occasion, it being distinctly understood that I am no ways committing the Government for what they may ultimately do in the matter.

"1. Supposing, then, the Government willing to propose a grant for providing additional Church-Accommodation, and for the endowment of the ministers, how will that be taken by the Dissenters, the vote being for the benefit of an Establishment from which they are excluded, but to the burden of which they will have to contribute?

"2. The fact being that the country stands in want generally of the means of religious instruction, will that want be supplied by the Government contenting itself with affording aid towards subscriptions made by individuals, and where, consequently, in some places, generations may pass away before the requisite accommodation is supplied? or is it not the duty of a wise government to supply at once the means of religious instruction to the people, wherever it is truly and unquestionably required? What would the amount of the sum be which would be requisite for such a purpose; and how would it differ from what would be required on the more limited footing of only giving in aid of subscription?

"3. Suppose that the Government in addition to the grant for building and endowing churches, should be disposed to bestow the nomination of the minister in whatever way would be most generally acceptable to the people, and most likely to promote their religious interests, care being at the same time taken to vest it in safe hands, so as hereafter to prevent commotion in the parish, and secure a truly efficient minister,—on whom could the nomination be best conferred, supposing the church to be *entirely* built and endowed by the public, distinguishing the *first* nomination from those to occur on occasion of *subsequent* vacancies?

"4. How should the two last questions be answered, when confined to the case of churches built at the *joint* expense of private subscribers and of the public, the endowment being exclusively provided by the latter?

"5. Supposing the existing Chapels of Ease to be endowed by the public, ought the nomination of the minister to remain as now fixed in these Chapels, and would it not be desirable that the same system of nomination should take place, towards which the public may be called on to contribute?

"6. What ought to be considered a suitable endowment to be paid by the public?—ought the amount to be the same in all cases?

"7. It seems desirable that part of the seats in the new churches should be let at as high a rent as may be got; that a very large portion of them should be let at a very small rent; and that a part should consist of free sittings;—what ought the relative proportions of these to be? and will one rule apply to all Churches?

"8. What party is to have the letting of the seats, the receiving of the rents, and the applying of the proceeds?

"9. Ought the rate of the cheap rented seats to be fixed by Parliament? and must it not vary in particular cases? If it should vary, who is to regulate the amount, and where is the check to lie in regard to this being done? Ought there not to be some controlling power to see that the minister receives neither more nor less of the proceeds than the revenue of the church can afford, due attention being always paid to the providing a fund for the maintenance of the fabric, and for payment of the under functionaries belonging to it?

"It is impossible that the Government can propose a grant of money for building or assisting in building churches, without naming Commissioners to attend to its application. In reference to some of the foregoing questions, it may be considered whether any use can be made of these Commissioners.

"At present, I believe that the consent of the General Assembly is required for the establishment of a Chapel of Ease. I take it for granted that in the establishment of the proposed churches no such interposition would be deemed necessary.

"As time now presses, it would be very desirable that I should hear from you on this subject as early in the beginning of next week as possible. —Believe me to be, most faithfully yours, WM. RAE.

"THE REV. DR. CHALMERS."

"*January* 31*st*, 1835.

"MY LORD,—It is right to mention that at present I am under strict medical orders to attempt as little as possible over and above the business of my two classes. This will account for the imperfection of my replies. The truth is, that while the session of college lasts, I shall only be able to dedicate about half an hour each morning before breakfast to the work of arranging and expressing my thoughts on any one subject. At the same time, as I mean to give the whole of my spare strength to the important subjects of your letter, I am not without hopes of being enabled at length satisfactorily to overtake them.

"It may be proper, however, to state, that for the time being your Lordship will have nothing but my own individual opinion on the matters of our correspondence, though I have no doubt that when our deputation goes to London, we shall be quite prepared to offer such representations on the points at issue as may have been *acceded* by our Assembly's Committee, and will be satisfactory to the Church.

"I shall take up the questions *seriatim* as you have put them to me:—

"1*st*, In regard to Dissenters, they may express their dissatisfaction with

a grant for the extension of our Church, and I for one should feel inclined to give way to it, were their own system at all adequate to fulfil the great object of that extension, which is the Christian education of the common people; but with all their energy and zeal, they fall completely behind in the execution of this mighty task, and the consequence is, that the surplus population whom our now defective Church cannot overtake are left—the vast and yearly increasing proportion of them without any religious instruction whatever—a truth which can be verified by statistical inquiries in all large towns, in the rising villages and extensive country parishes. It is too much to expect of any patriotic government that they are to limit themselves to a system under which the heathenism and profligacy of the land must be left to grow and multiply at pleasure, or that they are to be restrained from the best and most efficient methods for making head against the great and growing national mischief—the depravity of our people, in the reparation of which all are as much interested, and which, therefore, should be as much at the expense of all as national defence, or the administration of justice, or any other public and general interest which might be specified.

"I do anticipate a great outcry, though, I trust, a temporary one, on the part of Dissenters; but I am quite clear that it is the wisdom as well as duty of Government to brave it. On the other hand, it is quite the duty of the Church to do all that is right for consulting the Dissenters, and, if possible, effecting a union with them. Our theology is substantially the same with that of at least nine-tenths of the Dissenters of Scotland; and were Government on the one hand, to make an adequate provision for the extension of our Church, and the Church on the other hand, to welcome and encourage the advances of our dissenting brethren towards us, I have no doubt that their chapels would successively, and one by one, fall in to the Establishment, and be incorporated therewith, having regular districts assigned to them as parishes, and in every respect becoming part and parcel of our Church. This is the way in which I anticipate that matters would proceed. The present clamour and controversy which now agitate and distemper our land would subside in a few years. The evil of our present dissensions is a great one, but we should at length get quit of it by absorption.

"I now proceed to take up your Lordship's second question, which, I find, will, like the former, take more space than will be required on an average for those which follow.

"2*d*. It puts the alternatives whether Government should provide for the deficiencies of our Establishment gradually or at once, and in whole or

in part, leaving the other part to subscriptions. The following are my reasons for saying why it is more eligible that the Church shall be extended by a gradual, rather than by the immediate erection and endowment of a certain definite and specified number of places of worship:— 1. It allows time for a deliberate and well-weighed comparison of the different applications which will be made from all parts of the country, and better secures the selection of the fittest places for a new church. 2. It gives better security for the deficiencies of the Establishment being at length *fully* repaired, whereas the enactment of a definite number will fall greatly short of the work, as in the example of the late Government churches for the Highlands, which, though of immense benefit *pro tanto*, and as far as they go, form so small a proportion to the whole necessities of the case, as to have turned out a very partial and inadequate remedy. 3. It allows time for a preparation, the necessity of which is apt to be overlooked by those who take a superficial or sanguine view of the whole subject. It is a great mistake to imagine, that on the erection of a new church, and the appointment of its minister, in the midst of many thousands of people who at present go nowhere, there will be a precipitate rush to fill the place which has thus been provided for them. The truth is, that the work of reclaiming such an exile and outlandish population to the habit of church-going is a work of great sluggishness, and not to be accomplished but at the expense of much labour and devotedness on the part of a faithful ecclesiastic, who must give himself, and with the spirit of an old apostle or a modern missionary, to the business of going forth among the families, and, by his week-day attentions to them, creating such a demand and desire among them as may at length lead to their Sabbath attendance upon him. The truth is, I should feel apprehensive that if the material apparatus of new churches were greatly to outrun such a preparation, we should be so exposed to the mortifying spectacle of desolate and empty pews, as might stamp a mockery upon the whole enterprise. There is much the same work to be gone through, in our towns especially, that has to be gone through on the first conversion of a Pagan land to Christianity, where there must be a great missionary work ere there can be an Establishment at all; and so there must be such a work among our surplus population, by means of what may be termed a Great Home Mission, ere we shall be able to obtain a footing among them for those new churches, by which we propose to extend the Establishment that already exists. This Home Mission has begun, and is proceeding piece-meal with its operations in various parts of the country, generally under the cognizance and with the consent of the parish clergyman, in cities and large country parishes.

I could name between fifty and a hundred such that might be in readiness for new erections in the course of a few months. I have one under my own eye that commenced at Martinmas 1833, and is now in full readiness. The process, though a most essential, would, with the encouragement of Government aid in reserve, be a very rapid one; so that I should not despair of being ripe for at least a hundred new erections in three years, of double that number in less than ten years, and perhaps of the whole being completed in the course of twenty or thirty years at farthest.

"On these premises, perhaps, the Government will find itself in better circumstances to decide the question whether the whole deficiency shall be provided for gradually or at once, in whole or in part out of the national revenue. It is fair that Government should know that at least five hundred new churches will ultimately be required, which, even on the most stinted calculation, would require at least half a million of money for their architecture, and fifty thousand a year for their endowment. Now, the double of these sums would not be an extravagant allowance for so mighty an achievement. What I should like would be the largest definite grant which Government should feel disposed to allow, and this to be administered by the Commission in the general way which I have just pointed out, with an ulterior provision, if possible, for more, should any want remain after that first grant was expended. Some of the questions which follow will demand a recurrence to the subject of my present one, and a still fuller answer than I have now given to this second question will be gathered out of the whole communication.

"3*d*. The third question relates to patronage.

"If Government undertake to provide for the extension of our Church only in part, so that each new place of worship shall imply a body of subscribers, then each subscriber to the extent of £50 might have a voice in the first nomination, the very sacrifices made by them being in themselves the guarantees of a pure and right appointment. It were a great boon, and would operate largely as an encouragement to the liberality of individuals, would Government furthermore leave it with those subscribers to determine the permanent constitution of the patronage. In this way Government would escape from the necessity of committing itself to any system of patronage whatever—the *questio vexata* of the Church be cleared off from the question of its extension altogether. I foresee many difficulties and impediments if the two are complicated with each other, whereas the whole embarrassment may be got rid of, and Government would earn for itself the lasting gratitude of the country, did it waive its own claims to the patronage; while, on the other hand, there is little danger of an absurd and per-

nicious constitution being fixed by the subscribers, against which possibility there is a check in the Ecclesiastical Courts, to whom the whole constitution of every particular church must be submitted ere it can be received into the Establishment at all. We have all varieties of patronage already in the Church, out of which the subscribers to the fabric might make their selection, and none of which, as being already testified, will be rejected by our Presbyteries or General Assembly.

"In Glasgow the sum of £20,000 has been already subscribed for the building of churches, and one of the regulations is, that the subscribers shall retain the patronage during the infancy of the churches which they may erect, but that so soon as each church shall possess a regularly organized and consolidated kirk-session and congregation, that then the right of electing a minister shall be transferred to the said kirk-session and male communicants above twenty-one years of age. Again, the funds are now provided for the erection of a church in the Water of Leith, and it is proposed, that while the subscribers have the first nomination, the future patronage shall be vested in five different parties, each having a single vote—the Ministers of St. Cuthbert's, the original parish, the Kirk-Session of the new Church, the Directors of John Watson's Hospital, the Directors of the Orphan Hospital, and the Professor of Divinity in the College of Edinburgh.

"Such a scheme would enable Government to confer a boon on Scotland, unmixed and unalloyed with aught that might impair the gratitude of the country, coming in collision with no prejudice, but leaving, on the contrary, the question of the patronage of every church to be settled in every place according to the preference and predilection of those who have made the largest sacrifices to obtain it."

APPENDIX I.—P. 487.

"WHITEHALL, 31*st August* 1835.

"MY LORD,—I am sorry to find that, in the excitement which prevailed in Scotland on the subject of a Parliamentary Grant to the Established Church of that country, some fears and misunderstandings have arisen with respect to the Royal Commission, at the head of which your Lordship has been placed.

"I need only advert shortly to the complaints which have been made, both by members of the Church and by Dissenters, of the composition of the Commission. The resolution which has been sent to me on the subject

from the Commission of General Assembly, seems to take for granted that the cause of the Dissenters was to have no advocate of zeal and ability in the Commission, and that impartiality in the majority of the Commissioners is a serious fault.

"The Dissenters, on the other hand, seem to assume that those zealously attached to the Church of Scotland will decide without sufficiently hearing the objections to the Grant, and they seek the admission of a greater number of partisans to redress the balance. But admitting, as I do, that the number of members of the Commission attached to the Church preponderates greatly over those who have any bias towards the Seceders, I cannot think I have been wrong in endeavouring to give to the whole Commission, as a body, a character of calmness and impartiality.

"More serious apprehensions have taken place respecting the terms of the Commission. It has been supposed most erroneously that the Commissioners were to inquire into the kind of pastoral superintendence given by the clergy of the Established Church and of other denominations, and it is evidently not intended with regard to either one or the other to interfere with discipline or internal arrangements.

"Another misapprehension is, that the Commission may interfere with private property. Your Lordship will of course carefully guard against any supposition of this sort, and not allow it to be for a moment supposed that we mean to disturb those Acts of the Scottish Parliament which transferred the titles from the Church to the lay proprietor of Scotland. But you will endeavour to ascertain what is the property which may yet, by existing laws, be made available for the purposes of the Church.

"In the heated state of men's minds upon this subject, your Lordship will, I am sure, be particularly cautious in your manner of conducting local inquiries. I should advise, that keeping the terms of the Commission in view, you direct your first attention to 'cases where it is alleged that there is any want of the opportunities of public religious worship, and the means of religious instruction and pastoral superintendence.'

"In such cases, I should recommend that two Commissioners, or one Commissioner and one assistant Commissioner, should be sent to make full inquiry into the circumstances of the district, and that you should select the person in such a manner that in every case one of them should be a person of unquestionable attachment to the Church. They may report either together or separately to the general body, and any three or more of you may transmit these reports to the Home Office, from time to time, to be laid before his Majesty.

"I need not say, as I have already explained, that it is not desired or

expected that the relative numbers of Churchmen and Seceders in all Scotland should be ascertained. But where it is alleged that new churches and new ministers are required, it will be necessary to obtain an account of those who attend Dissenting Chapels, in order that the void, not filled up by any religious sect or worship, may be measured and defined.

"I trust that in the course of six months from this time the greater part of your task will be completed.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's faithful and obedient servant,

J. RUSSELL."

END OF VOLUME THIRD.

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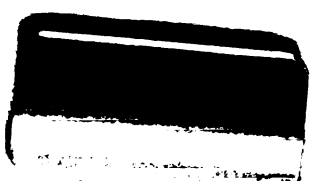
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